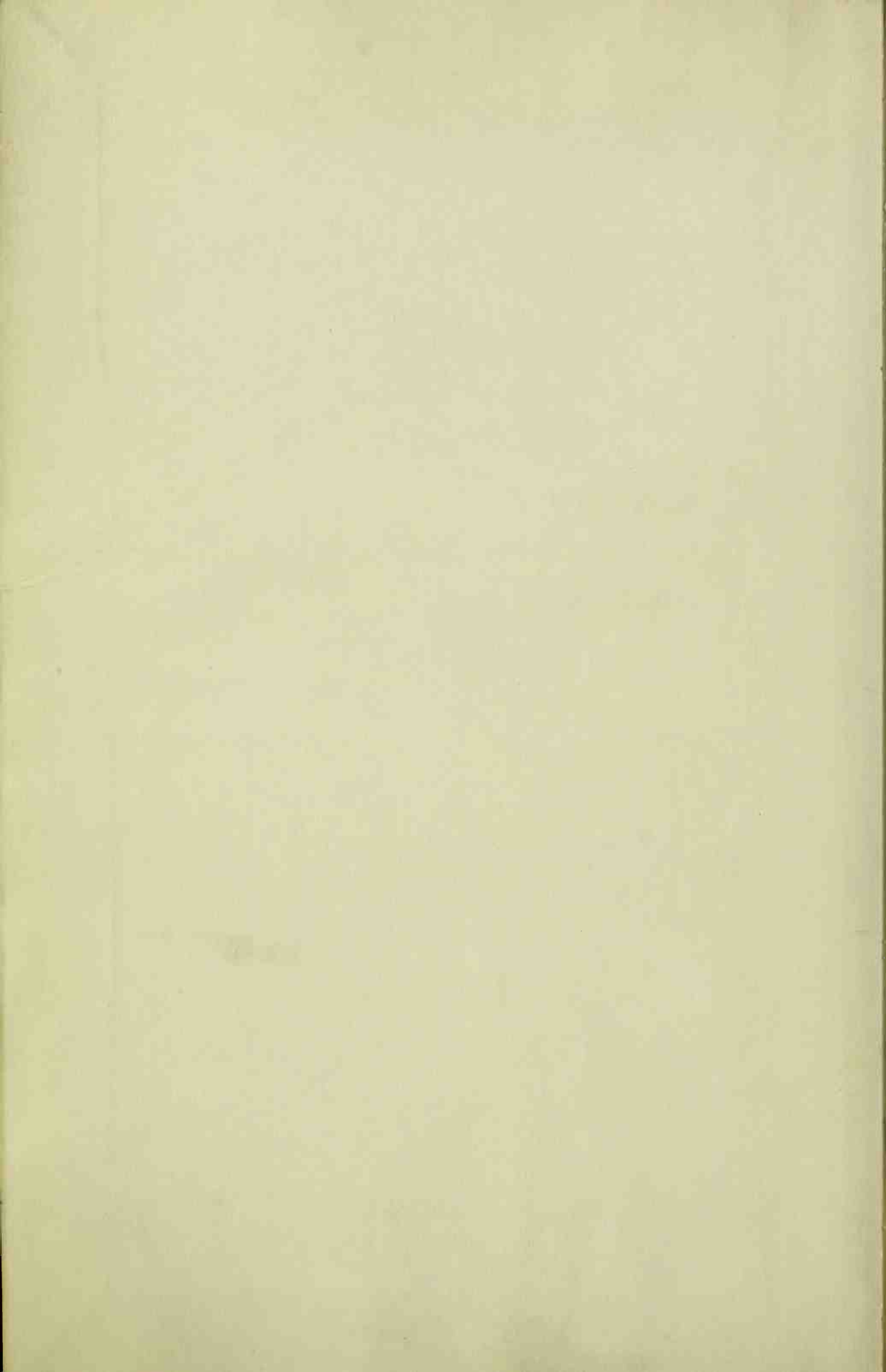


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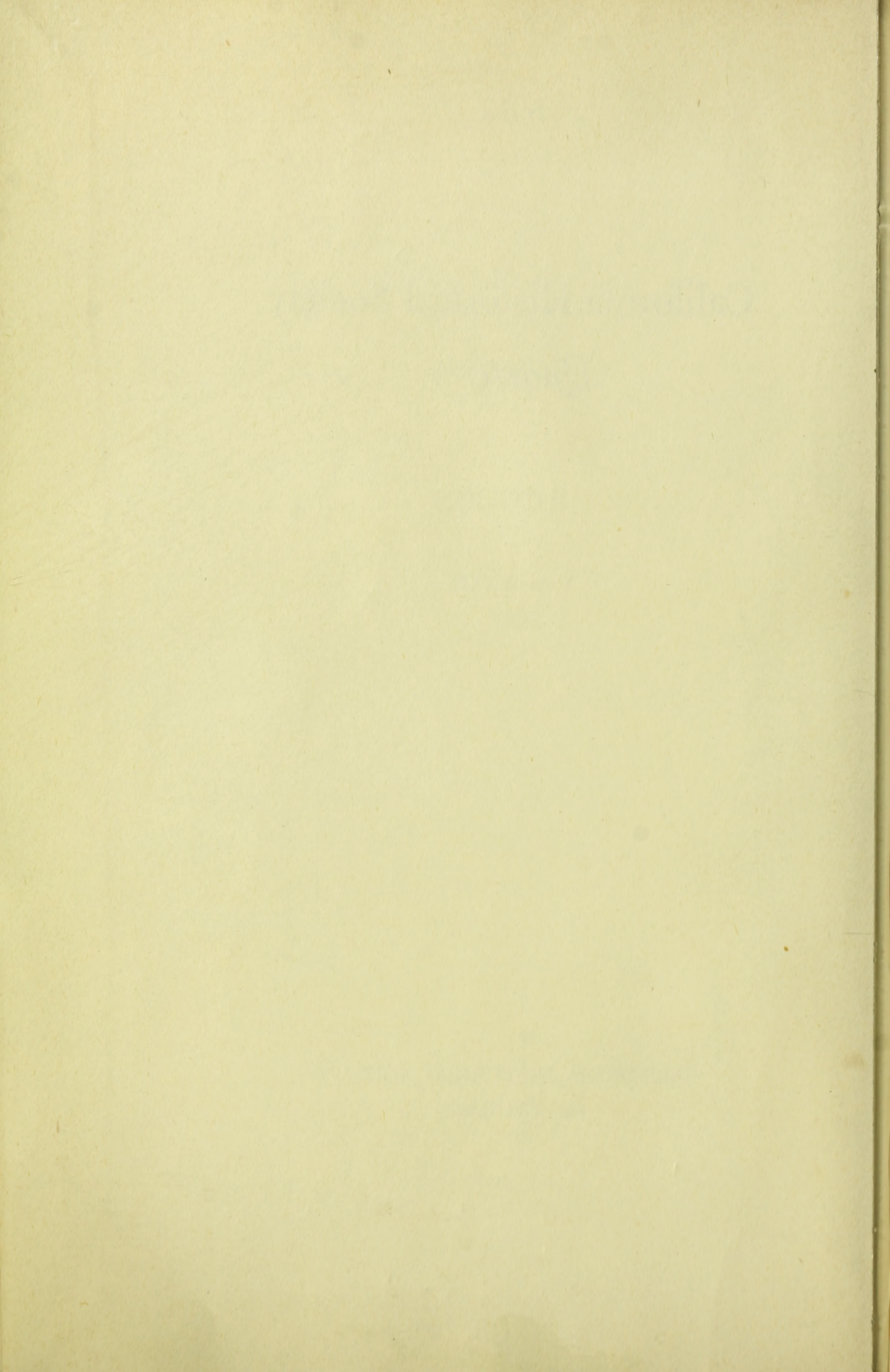
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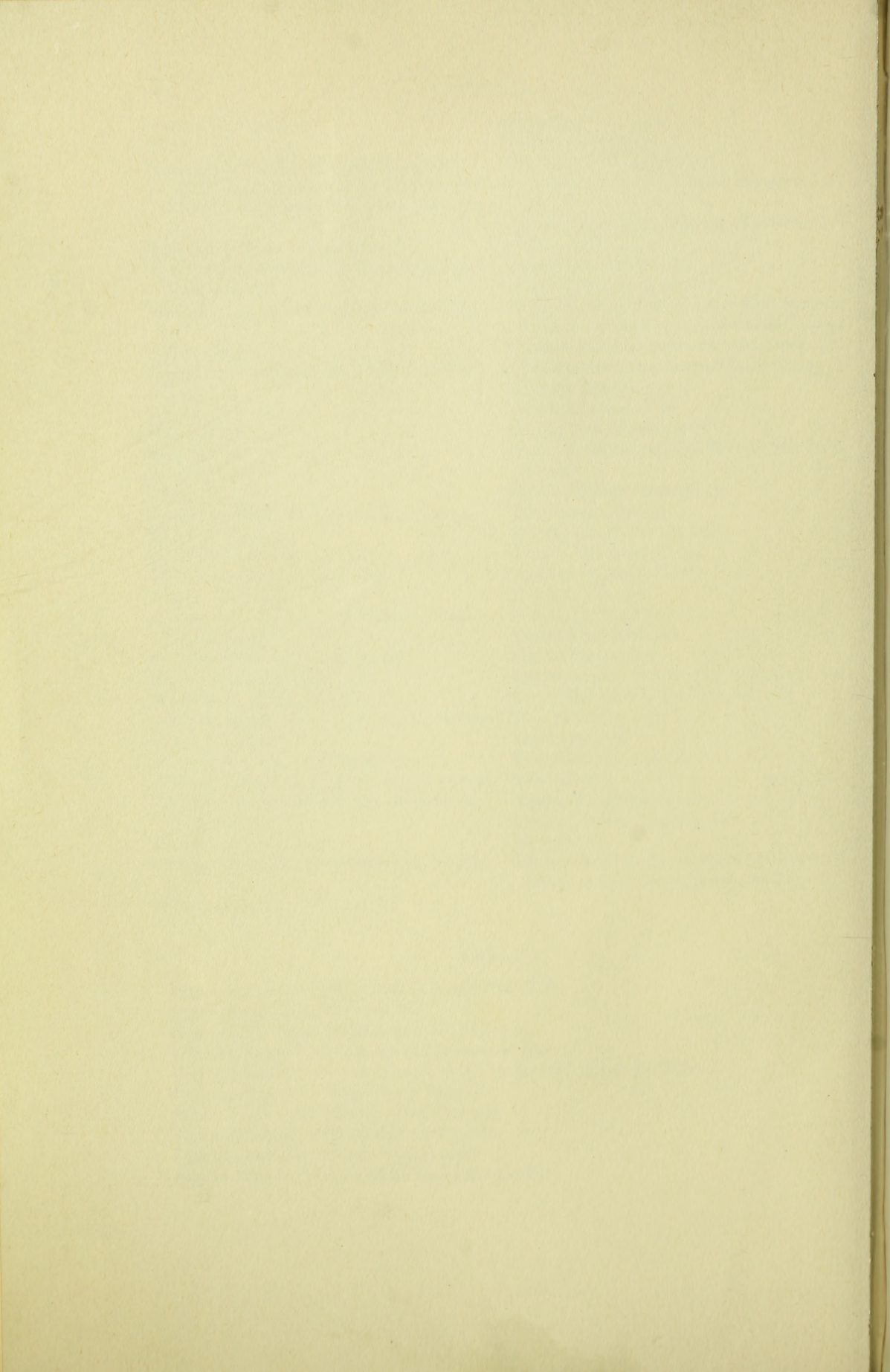
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ERRATA

- Page 2, line 21 from foot, *for* Dr. J. P. *read* Dr. G. P.
 Page 231, line 24, *for* Pole *read* Poli.
 Page 241, line 17, *for* William G. *read* William P.
 Page 253, line 10 from foot, *for* Hanson *read* Manson.
 Page 270, line 13 from foot, *for* José de los Santos *read* José de los Reyes.
 Page 273, line 22, *for* Russel's *read* Russell's.
 Page 275, line 1, *for* Gillespite *read* Gillespie.
 Page 278, note 94, *for* Register *read* Reporter.
 Page 319, line 1, *for* Warner *read* Warren
 Page 344, line 22, *for* Liedesdorff *read* Leidesdorff.



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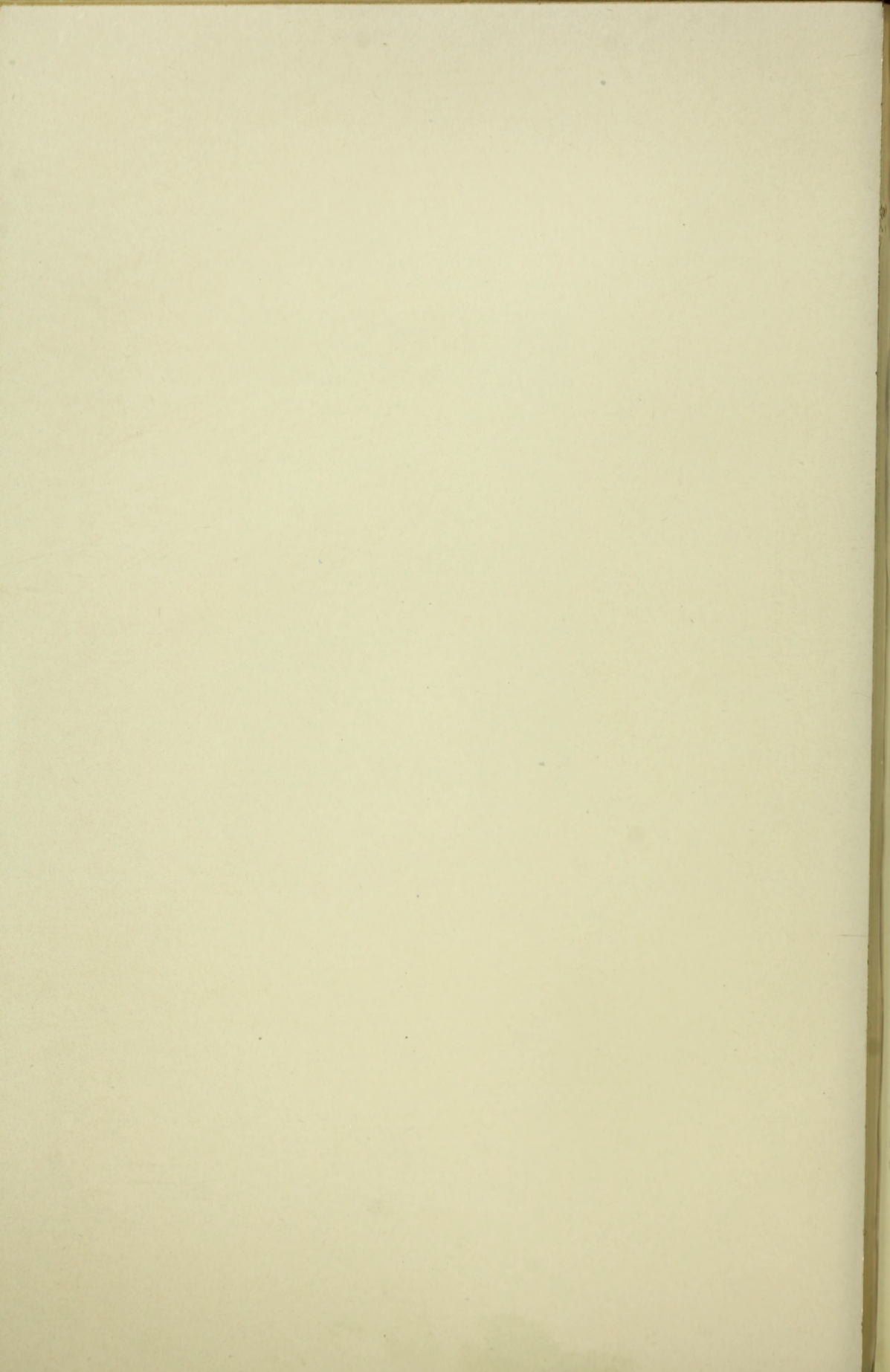
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CHARLES FREDERICK WINSLOW, M.D.

As he appeared in 1876

From original photograph in possession of Mrs. Oehler



Nantucket to the Golden Gate in 1849

From Letters in the Winslow Collection

Transcribed, with Foreword,

By HELEN IRVING OEHLER

THE writer of the following letters and diary entries, Charles Frederick Winslow (b. Nantucket Island, Mass., June 30, 1811; d. Salt Lake City, July 9, 1877) graduated from Harvard medical school in 1834, spent two years in advanced study in Paris, then returned to take up professional practice in Nantucket. His wife, whom he married in 1838, was Lydia Coffin Jones, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth Arthur Jones, and cousin of Henry and Charles Coffin, Dr. Winslow's associates in the whaling industry and the recipients of several of the letters transcribed below.

As will be seen from their perusal, it is the interplay between family and business on the one hand, and the doctor's medical and his speculative scientific work on the other, together with the wide circle of his experiences, that gives the letters such variety, interest, and importance. His knowledge of the whaling business contributed to his familiarity with oceans and islands, where, on Tahiti and Maui, between the years 1843 and 1847, we find him engaged in hospital management. The prospect of gold, not only in the acquisitive sense but as a manifestation of geologic phenomena, takes him in 1849 to California.* En route and on arrival he sees the dwindling of the whale-oil bonanza. Of Capt. Frank Gardner of the *Norman*, Winslow writes, "His whaling voyage is broken up—and if I err not many other voyages will be broken up in a similar manner." A month later he says:

The Massachusetts, Nickerson, was here partly deserted with 50 bbls oil on board. Nickerson has now gone to the mines and left the ship in charge of his wife, the mate, and two or three men. . . . The Quito, Brock, is here, everything of her whaling outfit sold. The crew have left, four of them to the mines.

But Winslow discerns substitute bonanzas in the conversion to passenger traffic and to lumber—"much money," he thinks, is to be made in those two categories.

By July 21, 1849, his professional training comes to the front and prompts him to write from San Francisco to a correspondent in the east:

. . . I find a great number of people here who know me[,] and my reputation here as a medical man stands so high that it seems best to start this concern [a hospital]—though I shall not remain long at it. If Lydia was here I should feel all right about it, but it is not best for her to come nor for the children to be here where there are not educational advantages.

As it was not advisable for his family to come to him, he journeyed back

*The *Aurora* and the *Henry Astor* set out late in the winter of 1849 for the trip around the Horn. Dr. Winslow, who owned one-fourth interest in the ships and their cargo, sailed from New York for San Francisco to greet them upon arrival.

to Massachusetts for a visit in 1850-53. On his return to San Francisco, however, he took up in earnest the question of the absence of "educational advantages" in the state which he hoped to make his own, and on March 23, 1854, Paul K. Hubbs, state superintendent of public education, and W. H. O'Grady, city superintendent of public schools, address him thus:

Esteemed Sir, Having read with deep interest your lecture prepared for the occasion of the opening of the State University; now deferred another year probably for lack of legislative action upon that subject, and believing that the interests of science command her votaries every where to make contribution for the general good; the undersigned respectfully request the favor of being allowed a copy of your "Lecture on the preparation of the earth for the intellectual races" with permission to publish.

In December of the following year (1855), Dr. Winslow's presence was requested, this time in the rôle of listener, at a lecture in which the earth was again to be the subject of man's thoughtful attention. The writer of the letter was Harvard graduate F. C. Ewer, then clerk at the U. S. custom house in San Francisco, but three years afterwards the successor of Bishop W. I. Kip as rector of Grace Church. Ewer's note read:

I deliver the concluding lecture of my course on Botany before the "Young Men's Christian Association" this evening at half past seven o'clock. I should be pleased to see you there if you can make it convenient to come. The subject is the Distribution of the Vegetable Kingdom over the surface of the earth taken in connection with some of the main causes. . . .

A bare month passed and in January 1856, Dr. Winslow went back to the Sandwich Islands, there to study volcanoes and to confer with Dr. J. P. Judd. After his appearance on August twenty-first of that year before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in Albany, N. Y., Winslow seems to have devoted more time to scientific studies than to the practice of medicine; but he was sent to Peru as a "medical consul," when a heart ailment did not permit his active participation in the Civil War. Even there, at Callao and Paíta, he continued his observations of earthquakes and volcanoes. His theories concerning the relation of the sun to these phenomena had been commended some years before (1858) by the great Michael Faraday. Winslow's fundamentally detached attitude toward scientific truth can be judged by a paper he wrote entitled, "Cotton: Science is King—Not Cotton Nor Gold."

With *Force and Nature*, written in Europe and published by Macmillan in 1868, Dr. Winslow turned his back on science and re-entered the field of business. His last trip to San Francisco, in 1871, seems to have been concerned with the real estate he had acquired earlier and which he expected would be valuable for warehouses along the water front and for residences on Nob Hill. Some of it became the heart of Chinatown and did not leave the hands of his descendants until 1926, after having partially supported three generations. Letters from Dr. Winslow to members of his immediate family in 1877, toward the close of his life, indicate that he never quite gave up the

hope that he would settle permanently in California; but it is evident that his wife and daughters preferred Boston and refused to join him in the west. He died suddenly in Salt Lake City from a heart attack, while on a mining trip in July 1877.

A word about the transcription of the letters, the originals of which are in my possession. The first in the 1849 series is dated April 20, 1849, from the *SS. Crescent City*, en route to Chagres, and is addressed to "My dear Lydia" (his wife). For the present purposes, however, where the main interest lies in his experiences in California, a beginning has been made at his letter of May 4, 1849, written from Panama, as here the comparative nearness of the gold fields lights up everyone's thoughts and speech. The combined diary-letters between April 20 and May 17, 1849, here omitted, have descriptive passages of much interest, as, for example, the account of the ancient fortification at Chagres, in his entry for April 26, 1849; his coming upon different parties of the surveying expedition for the projected railroad across the isthmus; and the sight of canoes passing up the Chagres River, "loaded deep with specie or bullion . . . carrying 1½ millions of dollars for the British Government. . . ." the latter two examples forming portions of a review (dated May 6, 1849) of his experiences from Chagres to Panama.

The letters have re-awakened curiosity as to what writer was hiding behind the signature "Farthest West," when sending communications to *The Friend*, Honolulu missionary paper. Solution of the question was undertaken by John Hussey in "Identification of the Author of 'The Farthest West' Letters from California, 1846," which was published in this *QUARTERLY*, XVI (Sept. 1937), 209 ff, Mr. Hussey holding that Lt. Washington A. Bartlett was the person. It is true that Dr. Winslow was known to have been in the Pacific during the period 1843-47 and to have been a correspondent of *The Friend*; but, as the "Farthest West" letters were particularly concerned with the Bear Flag episode, and as Winslow's letters and diary, especially the entry dated October 1, 1849, given below, show no acquaintanceship with, for instance, Sonoma terrain; and, further, as an intercomparison of literary style (see "Farthest West's" letters reproduced in *California in 1846*, introd. by Oscar Lewis, San Francisco, 1934, pp. 17-44) exhibits marked differences, the identification, advanced by certain dealers in Californiana, of Winslow as "Farthest West" runs into serious difficulty.

NOTE

As Dr. Winslow's great-granddaughter, I inherited his letters, diaries, personal memoranda, etc., and upon them in the main have been based the biographical details given in the Foreword. Included in the Winslow material are the commendatory note from Michael Faraday and the Hubbs and Ewer letters mentioned above. Of assistance also in preparing his biography have been the files of the Nantucket *Mirror*, 1835-36; and the *Winslow Memorial* (New York, 1888). For information on Dr. Winslow's associates in

the whaling industry, Will Gardner's *The Coffin Saga* (Nantucket, 1949) will be found of value to students of the subject. I might add that in the *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association, 54th Annual Meeting, 1948, pp. 20-30, appeared my "By Strangers Honored," giving further details of Dr. Winslow's life and writings. The sources of his opinions, cited in the Foreword, will be recognized as the letters are read.

Letter to Mess. Chs G and H Coffin and Chs B Swain

My dear friends

Panama—May 4th, 1849

I write you a few lines in some haste, as it is getting late and I wish to forward the letter in the morning early by an express to Chagres. When the mail from California reaches you I expect you will partake of the excitement which has prevailed here ever since the arrival of the news at 10 o'clock this P.M. It is well known to you that the steamship California has been anxiously expected for a long time by 200 or 300 persons holding tickets for her at this place. For a long time there has been no communication received from San Francisco so that nothing has been known concerning the cause of her detention.

To-day a brig arrived from San Francisco with a U S mail forwarded by the agents of Howland and Aspenwall. The *most* intense excitement has prevailed since in consequence of the most extravagant reports of one sort or another—and these often contradictory. It was said that the California was hauled up, deserted by her crew and engineers except one who was in irons and on board of the U S Ship Ohio for safe-keeping. This was sufficient to create a stir among ticket holders for in addition it was said the gold was endless and collected without trouble.

The most extravagant accounts of the gold regions were promulgated; and if you ever saw a thousand people perfectly wild and beside themselves you can imagine something of the state of things in this little and lonely town. People were gathered in knots on the sidewalks, throngs were huddled together in the middle of the principal streets—stories went from mouth to mouth, magnified as they were repeated—despair filled the breasts of the long anxious holders of California tickets—and a rush was made after passages in sailing vessels, so that the Norman was filled in an hour when for several days the applications for passages had been so few as to be discouraging to the Captain of her.

Speculation in steamer tickets ceased and holders were in doubt and dismay. Even persons who held tickets for the Panama which is just about due purchased tickets by the Norman. Every vessel has been filled to-day which has been up for passengers and another would have been crowded had books been opened. The reputation of and public confidence in the regularity or even future appearance of any steamer at this port failed altogether.

In the midst of all this tumult and excitement my companion and myself have been cool and quiet spectators. Knowing the tendency of such a state of the public mind we have used every effort to arrive at truth concerning

the state of things up in California. As yet we have heard little that can be depended on. This I have learned from a letter of the agent of Howland and Aspenwall at San Francisco to their agent in this place, Mr. Nelson, that there was no coal in San Francisco at the time he wrote and that the Chief Engineer was in confinement, but that he could not write much in the present letter. He would explain more fully everything in another letter which should reach Panama by the steamer sooner than the letter by the Brig which they had chartered to bring the mail.

The Oregon had not arrived at California. I have no doubt the steamers will both be here this month—this is opinion only, formed in the midst of the most dismal unbelief of the most around me. When I advance this opinion it seems to give relief to those who inquire or hear it and for a moment they cling to hope.

There is no doubt from all I can learn but that there is a very great amount of gold in California. This brig has brought a considerable quantity, how much I cannot state from the rumours which I hear. I heard the Capt. say that a vessel bound to the United States had taken on board a million dollars in gold dust. This is of late. The digging was successful all winter and the quantities collected very great.

In San Francisco beef is selling at from 14 to 18\$ per bbl., pork at 30 to 40\$. Flour very cheap 12\$ I modestly and tremblingly inquired of him the price of lumber and he replied promptly \$600 (six hundred) a thousand. This so alarmed me that I took Alvin by the arm and begged him to accompany me to some place where I could get more air. Lumber in this place, Panama, is selling at \$200 a thousand. Gd butter 80¢ to 100 per lb.—pork 32 to 50 per bbl.—beef 30. Capt Frank Gardner told me to-day that he had sold all the pork he had at 44\$, that it had fallen a little. This was his own, purchased at Callao at 18 per bbl. Molasses is worth here 100 per gal—water cask 25¢ per gall—dr. apples 30¢ per lb.

To return to California—provisions were abundant there—no lack of anything—gold dust was selling at \$15.10 per oz. The Capt of this vessel had a piece of gold which he was shewing and which I took into my hands and examined. It was 2½ in. long by 2 in. wide—irregular in shape. It was laid on a piece of smoky quartz so that both quartz and gold together was ⅓ to ½ an inch thick. They seemed to be thoroughly melted and mixed together, one side looking like gold alone, the other like stone spotted with gold here and there. The gold on it weighed 2 oz I should judge. He said that he took it with his own hand from the soil. He knew two men who went to the diggings—one was there 4 weeks and the other five—one procured 7000 and the other 11000 dollars. These great accounts I do not send you for any other purpose than to evidence to you the belief of those who come from California that there is gold there in vast quantities.

I hardly know what to say to you *at present* about sending out another

vessel. I think an assorted cargo with considerable lumber—good lumber—would sell, particularly at this port and all the way up from here to San Francisco. I am anxious to get along to San Francisco. I shall try to get the Aurora down here after passengers, if everything is right when I meet her.

The Brig referred to left several hundred persons at Mazatlan waiting for papers in vain for San Francisco. It will be best for the Aurora to touch there and I shall use my influence to put her into the passenger business if possible, for I am sure much money may be made by it if things remain any time as they are at present. People are so anxious to get from here to San Francisco that they even build up the sides of the great canoes of this country which are made by digging out the trunks of huge trees which grow in New Granada. In them they calculate to coast along the shores and replenish their provisions by stepping on shore occasionally for food and water.

The number of emigrants in the place on our arrival was said to be from 2000 to 2500—two hundred have already gone and in the course of a week a thousand will leave in the vessels which are up for passengers. Panama is healthy—only 15 foreigners have died since the emigration to California began during which time over 3000 persons at least have passed through and stopped here. It is only a wonder that more have not died, for the change of living and climate and habits are very great and many have been exceedingly imprudent in various particulars. The use of spirituous liquors has been very pernicious and there has prevailed an idea here that it was necessary to partake of brandy and other stimulants to preserve health. I think it a very erroneous opinion for I have seen no case of illness since I arrived on the Isthmus that was not connected more or less with the use of brandy.

Mr. [Alvin] Fisher and I have used cold water alone for drink and with the best effects. I was most happy to find him coinciding in my opinions on this subject. We have been firm in our example and I have preached with power and effect on many, both high and low, touching this method of destroying health. I should advise all persons who come to the isthmus to avoid the use of all alcoholic drinks and not to partake of them in the steamers on their passage to Chagres—to use the water of the Chagres river as freely as they may desire without fear of danger or disease. It is as good water as I ever drank. The Groton is no better, if as good. All that the Chagres water needs is ice to make it delicious. The water here is good and I believe as healthy as any river water.

There is no danger in journeying across the Isthmus nor in living here. The people are kind and gentle and hospitable. They are greatly given to cock fighting, and yesterday I went to see one. The stashes which they tie upon their legs are very large and sharp and shaped like sythes, some of them 3 inches long. The cocks fight with great spirit and I entered a little into the excitement before the fight was finished. This was not one of the most barbarous sort. At Gorgona we had rain which detained us nearly a day. Since our arrival in Panama we have had considerable. We were just in time to get

here before the rainy season began. So far we have been in luck's way. I hope it may continue.

The Norman, Gardner, is here—and his ship is full of passengers to-day in consequence of the excitement above referred to. His whaling voyage is broken up and he thinks of starting his men gold hunting at the halves. Capt. Frank Gardner has chartered his ship for \$10,000 to take freight and passengers from here to San Francisco. He is going with his crew to the diggings to work at the halves. His whaling voyage is broken up—and if I err not many other voyages will be broken up in a similar manner.

My dear Lydia

Panama—May 17, 1849

When we first arrived here I went to the French Hotel. This was a large house and there I was entertained 4 days at the rate of 2\$ per day. We were served coffee at ½ past 7—breakfast ½ past 9—dinner at 4—and tea at 7. I had a room miserable in the extreme and unventilated and which I obtained merely by the kindness of Mrs. Gardner who had an opportunity of getting another room.

Everybody sleeps here on cots—the naked cot with only a sheet to cover them. Even this was suffocating in the room allotted me. We soon found a room beautifully situated on the bay and overlooking the wall of the city, airy and pleasant. This we took as soon as Chs B. Macy and his associates left it, which was 4 days after our arrival in Panama. This one room furnished better than any other in the place occupied by Americans is let to us for \$1.50 per day furnished with cots and linens and lights and water—so this is the greatest bargain here. We see nobody so comfortably situated for the same money or more.

We have united with Mr. Leonard of New York, the late Alms House Commissioner, and his party of four in getting meals. He has them done up by an American woman. We have lived in good American style and cleanly and it costs us 85¢ to 95 cents per day. We live better than any other people in the place, even at the best Hotels, for our food is clean and theirs is dirty.

Since the first of May we have been here and we are very tired of the place. Fortunately the Oregon came in shortly after our arrival, so our time here is now short. We shall probably leave early next week. There has been a great amount of excitement here among the Americans who came out in March to go to California in the steamship of the same name. Her crew deserted her and there was no coal in San Francisco. She did not come down when expected and has not arrived yet. These persons holding tickets have held exciting meetings and are determined to seize upon the first steamer which comes in—even to the exclusion of the regular passengers ticketed for her. When the passengers for the Oregon's 2d trip arrived these reports met us.

But we were cool and determined that we would not have the misfortune of others visited upon us. The agents of the Boat, however, when the Oregon

arrived, determined to put them on board of her to our exclusion. The Panama arrived fortunately to prevent a *muss* the next days after the Oregon. They still persisted in their first plan—to shift us over to go in the Panama and to leave those who could not have accommodations to the next boat. This we could not unite with. After respectful and firm applications to the agents in various ways we effected our object and got things straight as they should be—each boat to take its own passengers and give all spare room to the California passengers. We shall probably be crowded but the voyage will not be more than 18 or 20 days long. The Oregon went up before in 16 days.

The news from California is of the most exciting character as to gold and high prices. Lumber, the last account, was 600\$ per thousand—whaleboats 500\$—provisions cheap. The Americans are very much thinned out of Panama in consequence of so many vessels having sailed. Others come in for passengers so that there are not enough to supply half the vessels in port. All persons wishing to come this way will always find accommodations in sailing vessels I presume.

When the Falcon's mail arrived I looked anxiously for a line, though she sailed but 2 days after we did. I am very anxious to hear from home. Those daguerreotypes of the children are precious things. They afford me a great deal of comfort and satisfaction I assure you. I hope you will have all the children taken in the best manner so that we can have good likenesses of them should they be taken from us. I think of you every hour of the day and wish it was so that we could be together. I do not think I shall stop long in California—not longer than I calculated. I hope God will take good care of you till we meet again which will be after a few months. Kiss all the children for me.

My dear friend, Samuel—

Panama—May 18th—1849

Well, here we are safe and sound in this snug little city of Panama, tired of our confinement and anxious to proceed on our expedition.

This is a curious little city. It is but a handful after all, very compactly built, the streets narrow and straight, with here and there a great *plaza* or public square which serves as a sort of air hole for the suffocating condition of the city. The houses are high, two or 3 stories with very lofty airy studs. They have long balconies before each floor and an overhanging roof so that where the streets are very narrow you may jump from one block to the other. The houses are constructed of stone and lime generally though there is here and there a wooden one. Very often they are of great size, containing a court in the middle. The doors of them are huge archways, and the great halls into which they open often contain mules feeding and negros stretched out sleeping besides other inhabitants for which we manage to have out-buildings adapted to their squealing or laying propensities. It would amuse

you to wander through these streets for a day or so to witness the uncivilized or rather the singular customs of the people.

You see mostly coloured people, either negroes or indians and mixed Spaniards. All are similar in habits except that the darker ones are the labouring and the dirtiest class of people. Here and there in the small business part of the city you see pure Spanish blood and it seems sometimes as if the white people are bleached whiter than they are in other parts of the world.

There are some large religious establishments here mostly however in ruins. The roofs have fallen in, the arches are breaking down, great trees grow out of the top of the walls, whole gardens of shrubbery cover the tops and the sides taking root between the bricks and stones, altars are decaying, statuary and architectural embellishments which must have given great splendour and elegance to the city in its primitive days are broken and falling or wholly destroyed—in fact these great establishments covering several acres of ground in some instances are huge masses of imposing ruins.

The population of the city is not more than 5000 or 6000 inhabitants when formerly it is said to have contained 15000. It is not so large as the burnt district of Nantucket, yet it is surrounded by splendid walls and broad trenches and is fortified, so far as its bulwarks of defence are spoken of, with great beauty and it must have been at great expense.

I regret very much that we did not dig deeper into the lumber speculation last winter. There have been three arrivals from San Francisco since I have been here and all confirm the most exaggerated accounts of the abundance of gold.

I have handled many pieces weighing several ounces each of various shapes, some flat, some oblong, all irregular and dented and rounded by rolling and attrition with the sand and stones. It all looks alike as to its original derivation. It is evident that it has all passed through the fire, has been smelted and thrown above ground in this fused state. The largest pieces which I have seen were found in the "dry diggings" and they prove to you conclusively that there must be vast deposits of it everywhere—or indeed all over that curious region—yet to be discovered.

The only article in the market which will return a *decent* advance is lumber and that was selling at from 500 to 600 dollars per thousand feet. There were lots of it up in Oregon but no vessels could be got there to bring it away. There was but little made in Oregon now as most of the labouring and hired population had come down to the mines. I have no doubt there will be great scarcity of lumber at the Sandwich Islands and in the different ports of California and in fact all along the Pacific coast for a long time to come. I hope before this time you and our friends have started another ship and drawn on my capital for one quarter of the interest—that is to say that you have worked yourselves into another fever and have got another ship and

she a large one and brim full of lumber started for California on the same foundation that our other ships were started.

It is not only San Francisco which must be built up but villages and houses without number must be erected all over the country. It is said that the cost of erecting a Hotel at San Francisco the last winter and spring was \$100,000. Good carpenters command 16 per day. The sailors who came down here in the Oregon told me that they received \$100 per month. The Capt. had put them in irons on their arrival and would not let them go ashore but had advanced their wages to 100\$ per month.

I think this the best route by all odds for persons to come. The rainy season here is not unhealthy and the natives say that they never knew of its being unhealthy till the Americans declared it to be so. Any persons coming from the United States would find no difficulty in procuring sailing accommodations on their arrival in Panama and these passages at a moderate price. I should not wonder if they would not be down to 75 dollars. The Crown Princess is here for passengers and is taking them for \$100—a fine large ship. At this rate persons without large means might reach California via this route for about 200\$ including their expenses on the isthmus. There is detention in the bay on account of calms and the passage to San Francisco would probably be from 40 to 60 days. The vessels which have left heretofore have gone very much crowded and I presume much sickness will come from their crowded condition.

Panama, May 21st, 1849

My dear Nathaniel—

Since I left home I have enjoyed my health and my travels. We were 8 days and 20 hours N York to Chagres; during that time we had much rough weather, but I was not very seasick. We passed 2 nights on the river between Chagres and Gorgona. We were one whole day and 2 or 3 hours of 2 others in reaching Gorgona; but I can truly say that during no time and on no other journey have I ever enjoyed myself so well nor witnessed such beauty of scenery and novelty of incident and adventure as on that excursion up the Chagres.

The terrible stories heretofore published of it are all fables. The country is healthy. There are no miasmatic districts of any extent and the people are always healthy. Even the cholera at 2 or 3 different periods has been introduced upon the Isthmus—three or four cases would appear perhaps and its course would be run.

What would strike you the most quickly would be the great numbers of coloured persons which go to make up the population of the Isthmus and in fact of all New Granada. They are of several different classes—pure indian—pure african—mixed indian and african—and mulatoes of both african and indian blood. They all have the same character for simplicity and honesty and faithfulness in all they agree to perform for you. This has been their

character before the great intercourse with foreigners which has recently taken place. Such is their character now so far as I have had an opportunity to observe them and know their habits.

The system of slavery in New Granada possesses some interesting features and differs very materially from the same system in the United States. There are about 450 thousand slaves to not far from 4000000 of population. Every slave if he does not like his master has the liberty of purchasing his freedom. He is obliged to give only the price which his master *paid* for him. Thus if a master treats his slave badly the slave will go to some person whom he likes, request the advancement of the sum of money which was paid for him to a previous master, and tender it for his freedom. His master is obliged by the laws of the State to grant it, and the slave binds himself to his new master. They are not high and sell generally for about 150 dollars. Every one has the ability to pay his master any sum he pleases so as to reduce the value of himself. Many under this law reduce the purchase money to 25 or 30 dollars and allow themselves to remain in bondage only to prevent their being drafted for the army and for other State purposes. They are obliged to work a certain length of time daily or weekly for their master according to the amt which their masters are actually out for them. Thus some pay a *real* a day and others only a *real* a week or month.

For instance a slave was bought for \$150 and that slave had worked and saved 100\$ which he had paid to his master for the purpose of reducing the value set upon himself. That master could not sell him for a sum exceeding 50 dollars. This makes the system work favourably for the slave, for if his master is severe he can leave him. If he wishes to be a freeman he can earn his freedom in one or 2 years and no man can hold him in bondage when he tenders the money and demands his manumission. In consequence of the construction of the slave laws the most pleasant relation exists between master and slave. They are kind to each other and the slave rarely wishes for his freedom.

Steamer Oregon—Sunday 27th

Lat. 10 N Long. 90.30 W

My dear Lydia and children—

We left Panama on the evening of the 23 (Wednesday) and thus far have had a smooth and very delightful voyage. The first day out we passed in sight of land all day and enjoyed the mountainous and umbrageous landscape of that part of New Granada which forms the boundary of Panama Bay. By noon of the second day all traces of terra firma had faded away. We have been ever since gliding over the Pacific whose surface is as smooth as a mirror most of the time.

The sailing is very beautiful and I have rarely passed the Vineyard Sound when the sea was so smooth. The ship is a fine one—a neat little man commands her, appearing to desire to please his passengers as far as he can. He is a perfect specimen of a sailor but as neat a little man as I ever saw and a

remarkably smart one. The ship sails very fast so it is presumed we shall reach Acapulco by Tuesday night. That is not far from 1400 miles from Panama.

We are exceedingly crowded with passengers in consequence of being obliged to accomodate passengers for the steamer *California*. Moreover it is very hot so that to sleep below is very uncomfortable and almost suffocating. However the passage is a short one.

June 1st—1849

10 hours sail from San Blas W

Since my last we have had the same fine weather and some pleasant varieties in our voyage. On Tuesday morning we made land, it being the coast of Mexico, and shortly drew up to it so as to have a fine view of the ranges of mountains which rose in gradual steps from the sea and extended back towards the interior for 50 miles or more. We sailed along this constantly varying coast-range of mountainous country for two days.

Wednesday at 2 P M we entered the beautiful harbour of Acapulco. The character of the country is very much the same all along the coast, for we never lost sight of it day or night since we made the land at the north of Tehuantepec. It is more or less high, rising in peaks sometimes 6 to 8000 ft far in the interior and sinking down by lesser elevations till steep and broken cliffs are washed by the Pacific.

The appearance of the whole country is barren—very much like that of the Sandwich Islands as we approached them in 1844. Small growth trees can be descried in sparse forests on the lower regions, but on the highest mountain ridges I could see dense woods and large trees projecting above the whole and spreading their broad branches against the clear blue sky. Occasionally we could see a fine white beach or a deep indentation in the coast formed by the mountain spurs, but as a general thing the whole coast is uninviting and destitute of inlets and harbours.

Our visit to Acapulco was a very pleasant one. We sailed along the coast, and coming to a break in the lofty shoreline the boat was turned into it. It seemed doubtful to us who were unacquainted with the topography of these parts whether anything more than a shallow inlet between two lofty spurs existed here. However the steamer kept advancing with a firm and resolute motion, every eye on board anxious to discover some sign of habitation on the fine shore in front of the strait.

Nothing was seen and it began to be quite certain that we were on the wrong track when suddenly on the left we observed a Mexican flag floating above a pretty little fortification hid behind the lofty boundaries of the most beautiful harbour which exists on the whole globe. We doubled round this jutting promontory and opened successively on groups of low neat looking houses covered with tile, fine broad spreading and shady trees, then a long flat beautiful beach with a square opening on to the sea, then on a neat little

church, then on other groups of houses and cocoanut trees in small groves beautifully green in every leaflet as we used to see them at Tahiti.

The town was small, perhaps containing not more than two thousand inhabitants if so many. The houses were one story high built of sods and thatched or of stone and lime and tiled. All were neat and clean. The floors made of square bricks were neatly swept. Although bedsteads were erected in some of them, hammocks seemed to be the means for repose for most of the inhabitants who used other luxuries than the floors of their houses and verandas.

Stopping here for four hours, we had an excursion of 2 hours on shore. This sufficed to see every object in the place, for in reality there was little of interest. There was the remains of one old church which was said to have been destroyed by an earthquake many years ago. The fort, small and well built of brick, stone and lime, was situated on a little headland, but would be of no advantage to the place should a serious attack be made upon it by any formidable man-of-war.

We found several vessels in the harbour. Three of them had left Panama from 28 to 40 days before and all were bound to California. They had got short of water and were obliged to go in to this port to replenish their casks and procure other refreshments. In one of them was Barker Bunnell of Nantucket who had left Panama 3 or 4 days before we arrived there. He was very anxious to get on board the Oregon but there was not room for him. These vessels were to leave the following day to pursue their voyage to San Francisco, a trip of 30 to 40 days.

We recruited with fruit and fowls and obtained some water. Our water has become exceedingly offensive and horrid to drink, in consequence of the ordinary change which takes place in it when recently confined in casks. This is about all that is really disagreeable to us cabin passengers. The people in the forward part of the ship complain of their fare and are confined to their own premises. There are a great many of them and they are much crowded. Since a division has been made by the captain so that each set of passengers occupies its own part of the ship as bought and paid for, we aft are very comfortable and are not overcrowded. It is very hot to sleep below deck. Other than this we are well enough off.

About 6 o'clock on Wednesday P M we started the wheel again and felt our way out of the land locked harbour of Acapulco. It looked like a lake without an outlet surrounded by lofty hills and mountains. I was charmed with it. The country around the town looked dry and barren. This was on account of its being the dry season. The rainy season soon begins when the whole country it is said becomes green and fertile.

later—

On the 5th of June at 2 A M we left San Blas and right glad I was to get clear of the place. It was very sandy and very hot and the people were not agreeable. They were mulattoes or Mexican Spaniards and very filthy in

some respects though they were neat in their clothing. The great annoyance of San Blas was the mosquitoes and sand flies. The latter are very small winged insects of the colour of sand which you do not discover until you feel a sharp sting. One morning I thought I would rise early and go down to the inlet and bathe. I partly dressed, taking my towel on my arm and descending the hill which led to the stream. Selecting a fine place I put my clothing in a canoe. I was about to plunge into the water when a swarm of these insects enveloped me like a cloud. I waited only an instant to decide what to do. Drawing on my shirt with unutterable speed I seized the rest of my garments and fled bareheaded from such a host of merciless intruders. (From Diary)

June 5th. We left San Blas last night at 2 o'clock, having arrived there Friday evening (June 1st) at 9 o'clock. I received an invitation from Capt. Basil, the American consul, to take up my residence at his house during the ship's stay in San Blas. His residence is on the hill in the Old Town. There I met Mr. James Forbes and Mr. Talbot on Sunday the 2d, both from Tepic. From the former I received much information about California where he has resided 23 years and from Mr. Talbot about Mexico where he has done business for many years.

We are now (at 6 A M) in sight of Tres Marias or the Maria Islands which are visited sometimes by whales. They are three small or rather low islands looking barren as they lie several miles from us. My stay at San Blas was as agreeable as it could be at such a place. The Mexican cookery was as peculiar as anything in which they differed from the American people—though in all respects they do not live as we do. The tortillas, frijoles, peppers prepared in distinct dishes, all steeped in pepper and onions, constitute their chief food. This is among the higher classes. The lower class are more simple and their food is confined more to tortillas and frijoles and fat of hogs.

My esteemed friends

San Francisco—June 18—1849

Mess. Ch G and H Coffin and C. B. Swain

I arrived here in the steamer Oregon on the morning of the 13th in 21 days and a few hours from Panama, including 3 days' detention at San Blas and stoppages at Acapulco, St. Diego and Monterey. On arriving at St. Diego the passengers who came on board reported the discoveries within a few days of very rich deposits of gold not far from the Pueblo de los Angeles. Most of Col. Miller's surveying party who left Panama in the steamer Panama one week before the Oregon had deserted and gone to the mines of los Angeles. We landed the balance of the surveying party which could not be accommodated in the Panama and the probability is that they deserted within 3 days afterwards. All persons who passed through St. Diego went to los Angeles and abandoned their intentions of going to the Sacramento.

On arriving here I found the most exciting and extraordinary state of

affairs existing. An immense fleet of vessels—the most of them fine and large ones too—were at anchor in the harbour, the most of them here to remain for an indefinite period because seamen will not hire themselves under 100 to 200 dollars per mo. The Massachusetts, Nickerson, was here partly deserted with 50 bbls oil on board. Nickerson has now gone to the mines and left the ship in charge of his wife, the mate, and two or three men.

Nickerson was offered 20,000\$ charter for his ship to go to the Columbia river for lumber—a 3 mos trip—and that was not accepted. The Quito, Brock, is here, everything of her whaling outfit sold. The crew have left, four of them to the mines.

Prices of land are enormous—even the storage of a trunk or *valise* is \$3 per mo. Blacksmiths ask 12 to 16 and this week are intending to strike for \$18 per day. The sound of a hammer on an anvil is rarely heard.

The quantities of gold collected at the mines is various—some who are industrious collect from one to 8 oz per day—on an average $1\frac{1}{2}$, say—others do not get more than $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz. But it is agreed on all sides that the gold is abundant lying on the slate rock which has been thrown up in a vertical position. In the cracks of these layers the gold is collected; over this is a stratum of sand pebbles and stones and then the alluvial deposits. The miners are obliged to dig from 2 to 4 and 5 feet to get to the slate near the banks of the creeks and rivers and then they find it quite abundant next to the rock. The gold dust is on the banks of rivers where the waters have rolled and washed it. On the American fork and its tributaries and the Feather river the yield is good, but the Stanisland and the remote tributaries of that stream are said to pass through a richer region than has been before discovered.

Mr. Fisher left town yesterday for the Sacramento to begin his explorations. There is an opinion prevailing universally here that mining companies cannot hold together. It is said that all who have come here are broken up. This was startling on my first arrival, but Mr. Fisher and I have looked into the causes and the characters of the companies and have compared them with our own. He feels satisfied and confident that he can keep them united and that he can do a good business with the mechanics at Benicia.

The leaders of other companies who have come on with us are mostly disheartened, but there is no wavering in Alvin. He knows his men and he is determined now to know his ground.

I wrote you from San Blas to buy a cheap but large ship and send her out with lumber. The more houses framed the better. Do not have them boarded endwise as before (up and down) but weatherboarded—that is the style here. Among other things which will sell well is butter, the best that can be bought and put up in the best manner. It is no use to send poor. Have it put up in salt or tin boxes when new and fresh so that it shall be good as new when it arrives here. Hams—preserved meats—clams—oysters etc etc of that

sort—and good cheese in tin cases. Boats will sell—whale boats first rate. I saw a poor old one which changed hands yesterday for 300\$.

When the Henry Astor arrives we shall have her go immediately up to Benicia which is 40 miles up the bay. The bank is bold and the ship can lie near it, discharge by running a plank on the bank. Mr. Billings, a friend of mine, has offered to give me a piece of land if I will put a house on it at that town. I have accepted it and will have the house erected so that Capt Joy may live on shore if he pleases. This place is to become the naval depot and a navy yard is to be established there. The lots are rising in value and some thirty houses are already erected there. The government officers are going up there next month to make it their head quarters. It is said to be a good location for a town. It cannot be as bad as this.

As soon as I get through with the Aurora I am going up to purchase two or three lots if I can get them cheap enough to put up a carpenter and blacksmith shop. Mr. Fisher thinks that the mechanics can be better employed taking jobs and carrying on business in that growing town while wages are so high than they can do in the mines. He will have enough for both purposes—to work at their trades and in the mines too.

There will be another great advantage in having the Henry Astor lie at Benicia. The water is mixed—or rather salt at high water and fresh at low water nearly, so that worms will not be very likely to attack the ship. Then she can lie near the shore, let her once get a good berth. At San Francisco she would be in danger always of one accident or another where the roadstead is so crowded. In a gale of wind she might drag her anchor or be ridden over by other ships and perhaps be lost. There never was a much more unfavorable place for a town to be located than at this place of Yerba Buena.

The valley of St. Jose that I spoke to you about as a very beautiful place is becoming the subject of much conversation and a town called the Puebla has been laid out at the south end of the Bay several miles inland. It is the great agricultural district of the country and will be of great importance and value by and by, I have no doubt. I shall take a run down to look at it, it being only one day's journey, and shall start tomorrow morning and be gone 3 days. I wish to see the country and know how to talk when land is offered to me.

I shall venture to retain four or five thousand dollars of your money *if it seems best* and purchase in your name. I shall take the responsibility and then if you do not like it I will take it off your hands. I am satisfied from the appearance of things here that there will be no humbug about making money in California by speculation if the business is done right.

[Letter to Samuel Fisher, Nantucket]

My dear Friend:

San Francisco, June 19th, 1849

We arrived here on the morning of the 13th after a pleasant passage of 21

days from Panama. We stopped at several ports on the way which made the voyage more agreeable.

On arriving here we found the strangest and in some respects the worst possible state of affairs. However so far as mechanical business is concerned and high wages everything is first rate. Board is much cheaper in comparison to prices of labour than at home. In other words a labouring man can make money faster and get rich quicker by his labour than in any other part of the world perhaps. Carpenter's wages are from 12 to 16 dollars per day. Board is from 2 to 3 dollars per day.

This place is growing very fast, houses going up in every direction, shanties and sheds and all other buildings of all manner of materials which can be obtained to make them of. Lumber is so scarce that it sells from 3 to 400 dollars per thousand. Land also is held at enormous prices, so much so that spots 12 feet by 12 feet on which many people have only tents are let for a hundred dollars a month. Prices of land which 2 years ago cost from 15 to 100 dollars are now sold at from 10000 to 50000 dollars. Men who 2 years ago were poor are now very rich. But their living here is very expensive. Servants' wages are from 100 to 300 dollars per month. The poor miserable drunken fellow who has lived where I am staying—an irishman—who has blacked boots and done small chores such as splitting wood, washing windows etc answered me yesterday in this way. Said I, "John, what do you get a month here?" "Och," said he, "not much, sir. I only gets 125 dollars a month and board."

The mines are productive and while men can go into them and procure from one to 2 ounces of gold a day they will not work in town for low wages. Carpenters will be needed as the whole country must have houses—and steady and industrious and calculating men among them will do well.

Your brother Alvin wishes you to exercise your own judgment about coming out. If you come it will be best to come overland, as you can save much time and make more money than it would take to come round the Horn. Bring no hard ware nor anything of the kind for the market is overstocked with everything. Bring thick clothing and plenty of flannel shirts, drawers and woolen stockings if you are going to live in San Francisco.

It is no place for a woman to live and I would not have my family here for all the gold in the mountains. Every forenoon a furious N W wind blows over the town and towards night a fog is added to it. The nights are cold and fires have been necessary every day we have been here. In the country however it is *very hot* and there thin clothing would be necessary. But the market is so glutted with everything that clothing and hardware of all sorts can be bought in some cases cheaper than at home. Besides scores and hundreds of vessels are to come with goods of every sort, for only 3 or 4 vessels have yet arrived that left after December.

Alvin went into the country yesterday—that is he went up the Sacramento

to begin his examinations of the mountains and gold regions preparatory to the arrival of the company. I was very sorry that I could not go with him, but the Aurora has not arrived and the state of things is such here that it is necessary for me to be here to meet Capt Swain. It was equally necessary for one or the other of us to go to the mines and examine the country. He was the fittest man for that. I wished him possessed of all possible information on the method of mining etc and he could not obtain it without inspecting personally the various parts of the country.

But, friend Samuel, you can hardly imagine my lonesomeness yesterday after he had gone. The absence from my family has been consoled alone by his companionship.

(To be concluded)

The Roach-Belcher Feud

By PAUL P. PARKER

MONTEREY always had more than its share of "fussin" and "fightin,"¹ but in the 1850's, when "feudin" was added, what was left of law and order vanished, and innocent men outside the belligerent circle were sucked into a whirlpool of viciousness and murder. The principals in this vendetta were Lewis F. Belcher, the "Big Eagle of Monterey," and William Roach, both fearless fighting men of the eye-for-an-eye brand. They started out as close friends, but greed for a young widow's money split them apart, and from then on to the grave it was "war to the knife and the knife to the hilt."

Belcher was born in Orange County, New York. As soon as he could carry a gun, he headed for the open spaces of Missouri and Kentucky.² Somewhere along the emigrant trail he joined a caravan which arrived in Monterey early in 1847. Belcher was then twenty-two. He soon made friends with Captain of Volunteers Joseph Aram and entered into an agreement to furnish meat to the U. S. army and navy.³ It was while carrying out this contract that Belcher met Sgt. William Roach, Company D, New York Volunteers.⁴ Belcher had never attended school but he possessed acumen, which, coupled with a capacity for hard work, enabled him to get large land grants in the Carmel Valley, and in Santa Clara and Stanislaus counties.⁵ He was a giant in size, a dead shot, very generous and was popular at Monterey.

Roach, a native of County Wexford, Ireland, emigrated to America in 1830 and worked as a boatman on the Mississippi until, in his late thirties, he enlisted in the New York Volunteers. His outfit reached Monterey in April 1847, where it was kept busy catching Indian stock-thieves in the San Joaquin Valley and in the Sierra Nevada. In the spring of the following year, Company D sailed for La Paz, Lower California. Inland, at Todos Santos, it had an encounter with Mexican forces, but by September 1848 it was back again in Monterey, where it was mustered out. Roach, among others of the company, remained in town,⁶ formed a political clique, and obtained several offices when Monterey County was formed, Roach being elected sheriff.⁷

The indirect cause of the break between Belcher and Roach was José María Sánchez, a Mexican, who came to Monterey in 1830 when he was twenty-four years old. Sánchez was a shrewd operator and was called "El Judío" (The Jew). At the time of his death he owned Llano de Tequesquite,⁸ Lomerías Muertas, the Potrero of the Juristac rancho, a portion of Las Animas (he was claimant for the entire grant), besides mortgages on many of the ranches bordering his holdings, and promissory notes.⁹

After the discovery of gold in 1848, Sánchez had a steady stream of cattle and horses going to the mines. December 25, 1852, he was returning from

one of these cattle-selling trips with a large amount of gold dust in his possession. It had been raining hard when he and his vaqueros arrived at the San Ysidro Ranch, and genial John Gilroy tried to get them to bed-down for the night. Sánchez' men fell in with this suggestion; he himself went on. His home was only fifteen miles away across the Pajaro River in San Benito Valley and he wanted to get home to spend Christmas eve with his wife and five children, but he was drowned in the turbulent river. Neither he nor his horse were ever found.¹⁰

Sánchez' estate was valued at \$300,000. His young widow¹¹ knew nothing of business, consequently many were after the choice plum of guardian. Events followed fast. In San Juan was a recent arrival, Thomas B. Godden, and within two months after the death of Sánchez he married the widow.¹² On March 28, 1853, the bridegroom had his friend, Samuel C. Head, appointed guardian of the estate. Two weeks later, Godden was killed when the boiler of the steamer *Jenny Lind* exploded.¹³ Samuel Head proved to be a professional gambler and was caught appropriating Sánchez-estate funds by taking \$45,000 from the sale of cattle. He also worked up fraudulent creditors who obtained \$23,000. The district court found him guilty of malfeasance on June 27, 1853, and looked to his sureties to make good, but they all turned out to be penniless gamblers.¹⁴

Belcher immediately started pulling wires for the nomination of his friend, Sheriff Roach, as guardian; within a few days Judge Josiah Merritt¹⁵ made the appointment and Roach resigned as sheriff.¹⁶ Belcher and David Jacks¹⁷ acted as his bondsmen. After a few months, Belcher accused Roach of stealing from the estate, and he and Jacks resigned as sureties. In their places, James Meadows,¹⁸ Pacificus Ord,¹⁹ and James McKinley²⁰ were appointed. Ord was attorney for Roach.

Widowhood did not rest very well upon Mrs. Sánchez Godden, for in a little over two months she married a young medico in San Juan, Dr. Henry L. Sanford, a close friend of Belcher. The new husband filed suit to have Roach removed as guardian of his step-children, charging embezzlement, and at the same time brought suit against the bondsmen to indemnify the estate, but Judge Merritt denied both suits. Belcher then hired David S. Terry and Duncan Perley of Stockton as attorneys for Sanford.²¹ Terry in his complaint charged Roach with stealing gold dust to the value of \$84,654, and he asked for a change of venue to San Joaquin County on the ground that Judge Merritt was accepting bribes from Roach.

As soon as the case was transferred to San Joaquin County, Judge Charles M. Creaner²² appointed Belcher as receiver and set the date for the hearing. In the latter part of February 1855, Belcher was tipped off that Roach, to avoid facing the new court, was headed for Mexico. Bill Burns (Belcher's bodyguard) and several others were sent in pursuit, but with instructions not to kill unless absolutely necessary, as Belcher could not collect the

money from a dead body. By taking short cuts and many changes of horses, the posse caught up with their quarry at San Buenaventura. Roach sought asylum in the mission church. Putting a guard around the building, Burns hurried to Santa Barbara, got in touch with Sheriff Russel Heath,²³ and had a warrant issued against Roach on the grounds that he was an escaped fugitive from San Joaquin County.²⁴ On March 1, 1855, Sheriff Heath made the arrest, and in the process Roach tried to destroy a note made out to himself for \$8000. The fugitive also had two other notes, one for \$1000 and another for \$100, Dr. Frederick A. McDougall,²⁵ owner of several large land grants near San Juan, being the maker of the notes. Although protesting vehemently, Roach was taken to the jail in Stockton. When the case was heard, he refused to testify, on the advice of his attorney, Pacificus Ord. In later years the defendant severely criticised Ord for this poor advice. Judge Creaner found Roach guilty of embezzlement; he ordered him held in jail until the money was refunded. The court also reprimanded Judge Merritt for his fraudulent actions in the case and issued an injunction prohibiting him from trying any case in which Roach was a party. Belcher was appointed guardian of the estate and took office immediately.

After Roach had been in the Stockton jail six months, he sent word to Terry that if he was permitted to leave it he would disclose where the gold dust was hidden in Monterey. Terry agreed and Roach drew a diagram showing that the loot was concealed in the adobe foundations of the home of his brother-in-law, Jerry McMahon.²⁶ Terry refused to give the order releasing the prisoner until the plunder was located. During the time that he was behind the bars, Roach had become friendly with the jailer, Franklin Foote; so, when Terry refused to release Roach, Foote gave the order himself and both started for Monterey. Although Terry had two hours start, the jailer and his prisoner arrived ahead of him.

In looking for the gold dust, Belcher and Terry nearly wrecked the building. They could find nothing. Roach immediately went into hiding, because Belcher gave the order to kill him on sight. From then on, Roach had two bodyguards while he slept, but when he went out during the day many more were around him.

Under Terry's advice, the three notes taken from Roach at San Buenaventura were turned over to the sheriff of San Joaquin County and advertised for sale. Due to the fact that wealthy Dr. McDougall was the maker and that they brought three per cent interest a month, they were sold at a premium to Belcher. McDougall immediately brought suit against the buyer to recover the notes, on the grounds that they had been stolen and also had been paid in full. The case was held before Judge William Rumsey, third district court. Roach, fearing assassination if he came to Monterey, gave his testimony by deposition at his hide-out on the ranch of John Robertson, his bodyguard and a former member of the California Battalion. Roach testified

that he gave McDougall gold dust in exchange for the notes, because of the difficulty of handling the metal on his trip to Mexico. The transaction had taken place at José Abrego's store²⁷ in Monterey, the dust being weighed by Pedro Zabala, as he was the only one who knew how to use the new scales.²⁸ Roach's agent, Thomas K. Monk, wrote the notes; he was in jail, consequently his testimony was also given by deposition.²⁹ Both men testified that McDougall had paid the notes, but Judge Rumsey did not believe them and gave judgment to Belcher.³⁰

On March 16, 1855, Dr. H. L. Sanford, with his wife (the twice-widowed Mrs. Sánchez) and his brother-in-law, H. Atwood, came to Monterey and were guests at Alberto Trescony's popular caravansary, Washington Hotel.³¹ Sanford and Atwood went to the bar and were taking a drink when Jerry McMahan and several of Roach's friends walked in. Words were exchanged and Sanford drew his gun. McMahan shouted that he was unarmed and a bystander grabbed Sanford's gun. McMahan departed. Soon he returned with a pistol and told Sanford to defend himself. The latter had a drink in his right hand; with his left, he picked up his gun and fired. McMahan did likewise and both men fell dead within a few feet of each other. Atwood rushed upstairs, with McMahan's friends close at his heels. They pounded on Atwood's door and told him to come out shooting. Realizing that he had no chance, Atwood put the gun in his mouth and pulled the trigger.

Mrs. Sanford was now a widow for the third time, but she had an able defender in Belcher who kept after Roach and his bondsmen to recover the \$84,654. Finally he had to settle with \$7000 from Pacificus Ord and Charles Wolter,³² and \$2000 from Simpson Conover.³³

Belcher was shot at many times as he rode to and from his Carmel Valley ranches. He was never wounded, although several of his men were hit but not seriously. On June 19, 1856, the Big Eagle of Monterey was drinking at the Washington Hotel bar with attorney Truman Beeman. He had his back to the door leading to the lobby but kept his eye on the street door. Suddenly the lobby door opened and a shot was fired. It hit him in the stomach and he lingered only until the next day. Before dying, he made a statement in which he accused Roach, Aaron Lyons, John Robertson, Franklin Foote, Anastacio García and George Buston of being in the plot to kill him. The San Francisco *Herald* of June 21, 1856, ran a story on his death. To quote one paragraph:

So the Big Eagle of Monterey is dead. It is not often we shall look on the like of Lewis Belcher again. His bitter and hating enemies can produce no beginning of a man of his manly and courageous character. He died like a lion, saying to his friends, "They did not give me a chance, but shot me down like a dog. They were afraid to meet me face to face. My poor wife and child, God knows how they will fare in this country so full of lawyers and laws and such bad justice." It is to be hoped his enemies are now satisfied with the seventh death and five wounded.

Shortly after this, Mrs. Sanford married George W. Crane, a handsome Virginian, college graduate, and an able attorney.³⁴ On August 22, 1856, he was appointed guardian of his step-children and did not stop in his endeavors to get money from Roach and the bondsmen. Roach remained in hiding, even though his arch enemy, Belcher, had been snuffed out. He dropped Ord as his attorney and hired Isaac Wall, speaker of the assembly and Monterey's first senator. A short time later, Wall and the popular young constable, Thomas Williamson,³⁵ headed south with a pack train. It was thought that they were taking money to Roach. These two men left on November 6, 1856, and made their first night's camp at an arroyo on the Buena Esperanza Rancho, twenty-five miles south of Monterey. The next morning David Spence,³⁶ owner of the ranch, came upon their camp. Both men were dead. Their bodies had been badly mutilated and their equipment ripped open and scattered over a wide area, showing that a search had been made for the money. Surprisingly placid Monterey was in an uproar when Spence brought the news to town. The shadow of the brutal murder fell on Anastacio García.³⁷ His home was at El Tucho,³⁸ a few miles from Monterey. It was where most of the town's renegades lived and where Fort Ord is now located.

Sheriff John Keating and his posse went for their man. Keating knocked at the front door while Under-Sheriff Joaquín de la Torre³⁹ and two citizen volunteers, Charles Layton and Jim Beckwith, waited at the rear.⁴⁰ Mrs. García and her daughter stepped out the back door and told de la Torre that Anastacio was not there; but suddenly he jumped from behind his wife's skirts, shot the under-sheriff, then Layton, and, grabbing Beckwith's horse, killed him and escaped.

Monterey marked time until it could take concerted action. The opportunity came when Mrs. García, a few weeks later, arrived in town and made arrangements to go by boat to San Pedro. Thereupon public funds were raised to have Tom Clay, an eccentric school teacher, follow her.⁴¹ By the time the boat reached San Pedro, Mrs. García had become friendly enough with Clay to ask him to get a team of horses at a certain place; at the same time, she showed him a letter giving instructions on how to get to an adobe on La Brea Rancho.⁴² Clay asked the woman to wait at the landing while he made arrangements for the team. He then got in touch with the sheriff of Los Angeles County, and when Mrs. García saw her husband he was in the hands of the officers taking the prisoner back to Monterey.

Just as soon as García was jailed in Monterey, he sent for the men who were responsible for his having murdered Wall and Williamson, and threatened to tell all unless he was liberated. They promised to break into jail that night and free him. Instead, they put a lariat around his neck and over a wooden beam, tied his feet to iron rings in the wall, and when they pulled the lariat, García's neck was almost severed. The next day, February 17, 1857, the jailer made this entry in the Monterey County jail register: "Anas-

tacio Garcia charged with murder found strangled in his cell this morning." His death marked the thirteenth since the drowning of José María Sánchez, four years and two months before.

Roach left Monterey, and in the early 1860's purchased a farm near Whiskey Hill, a few miles from Watsonville in Santa Cruz County. The only time he would talk about his past exploits was when he was drinking. These remarks brought warnings from his friends, who were not so proud of the parts they had played in the murders committed.⁴³ On September 3, 1866, a county election was being held, and Roach went to Watsonville to vote. He remained until the votes were counted, then started home late in the evening. The next morning, his horse, with the empty saddle, was seen; and, in a well, not far from the road, was Roach's body. The marks in the ground indicated that he had been lassoed and pulled from his horse, and had then been dragged 300 feet to the well. Before being tossed into the water, his head had been bashed in with a huge rock.⁴⁴

The death of Roach was the last in this bitter feud, and, strangely enough, both he and Anastacio García were killed by friends, under the tactics that dead men tell no tales. According to a contemporary who knew most of those involved, no one benefited from the looting of the rich Sánchez estate, "except the ancient fraternity of constables, scribes and lawyers."⁴⁵

NOTES

Prefatory Statement. Because of the ramifications arising from the suits and counter-suits of the many guardians, administrators, and claimants in the estate of J. M. Sánchez, the papers, filed under probate cases 34-36 incl., that have accumulated as a result of these suits, are voluminous. In addition, the contents of the different portfolios holding the documents are not in chronological order—due, I have been told by old-time attorneys, to the breaking of the strings that bound them, when the county-seat was moved from Monterey to Salinas in 1873. In the confusion of moving, some of the papers were not replaced in the proper portfolios and one must thumb, as I did, through hundreds of documents to find the sequence of local happenings.

In relating the history of the Roach-Belcher feud, I have found Henry Dwight Barrows and Luther A. Ingersoll's work, cited first in note 17 below, of much value. Both of these authors were trained historians; they not only examined the official records and the newspapers of the community they were studying, but they talked with survivors who had once been participants in some of the events.

1. Attributed to the dumping of convicts by the Mexican government on Monterey. J. M. Guinn, *History of Monterey and San Benito Counties* (Los Angeles, 1910), I, 280.

2. *Salinas Weekly Index*, Dec. 26, 1878.

3. The firm of Aram & Belcher was mentioned as doing business in Monterey in 1847. Aram, who came to California in 1846, commanded a company garrisoning Ex-Mission Santa Clara in the winter of 1846-47, while Frémont's California Battalion was marching south. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), II, 699.

4. Francis D. Clark, *New York Volunteers* (New York, 1882), p. 32.

5. Belcher's holdings consisted of San Carlos and San Francisquito ranchos in Carmel Valley; portion of Sur Chiquito below Monterey; portion of Natividad in Salinas Val-

ley; a fourth interest in 50,000 acres at the junction of the Stanislaus and San Joaquin rivers; 500 acres of San Jose pueblo lands; town lots in San Francisco, Monterey, Sonora and Stockton. *Decrees*, district and probate courts, Monterey County, Book A, pp. 13, 24, 36.

6. Pajaro *Times*, Sept. 8, 1866; Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

7. Judge R. F. Peckham in "Reminiscences," *The Pioneer*, July 28, 1877, says that Roach was political boss of Monterey County and that he clashed with him frequently.

8. Named after mineral deposits on the edge of a small laguna, now called Soap Lake, in Santa Clara County. John Swan said that in 1844 Thomas O. Larkin and Sánchez made soap here. They brought an old whaling caldron from Monterey and increased its sides to eight feet high by means of adobe bricks and iron bands. With the fire underneath, they made soap from cattle fat and tequesquite, and sold it in Monterey where it was in demand because it mixed easily with salt water. Swan also stated that the tequesquite was taken to Monterey and the housewives made their own soap with it. *Salinas Independent*, April 27, 1934.

9. Among those whose notes he held were: John and Nicodemus Gilroy, Antonio German, Thomas Doak (first American to arrive in California, 1816), Alexis Godey (French Canadian who was with Frémont on his 2d, 3d, and 4th expeditions). Probate Case 36, estate of J. M. Sánchez, Monterey County clerk's office, Salinas.

10. The Sánchez home was a large two-story adobe on the east side of the Pajaro River, near where it joins the San Benito. In May 1853, \$13,555 was found hidden in a wall, and this started treasure hunters in later years. In the spring of 1914, I read an item in a Hollister paper that a man with a divining-rod was looking for the Sánchez gold, so, with a Salinas group, I watched the treasure hunt. The hill near where the house stood was torn up for a hundred yards. There were many persons searching, some with maps, but nothing was ever found. See also Isaac L. Mylar, *Early Days of the Mission San Juan Bautista* (Watsonville, 1929), p. 175.

11. Her maiden name was Encarnación Ortega, niece of Mrs. John Gilroy. *Salinas Post*, April 19, 1934.

12. Also known as Gordon Williams. Godden was a fast worker; in going through the Sánchez-estate files, I found two promissory notes for \$3475, taken from estate funds a week before he died.

13. Many were killed in this explosion of the *Jenny Lind* on April 10, 1853. She was returning to San Francisco after an excursion to Alviso in Santa Clara County. *Alta California*, April 13, 1853.

14. Probate Case 34, estate of J. M. Sánchez, as cited in note 9 above.

15. Judge Merritt was a native of Orange County, N. Y., and was admitted to the bar there. He arrived in Monterey in January 1850; county judge 1850-54. His wife was a daughter of Simeón Castro, the large land-owner who vigorously opposed the American occupation of California. J. M. Guinn, *History of Central California* (Chicago, 1903), p. 289.

16. Aaron Lyons, sergeant in Company D, a "buddy" of Roach, replaced him. *Proceedings*, board of supervisors, Monterey County, 1853.

17. David Jacks, a native of Scotland, came to New York in 1841. He saw a letter written by Alcalde W. A. Colton in the New York *Herald* in regard to the gold discovery, whereupon he brought \$1500 worth of goods around the Horn, arriving in San Francisco in April 1849. The goods were sold in forty-eight hours for \$4000, which started him on his way toward becoming the richest man in Monterey County. His wife was María Cristina Romie, who came to Monterey in 1841 from Mexico. They had seven children. In 1876, through his donations to the Methodist conference, Pacific Grove was established for annual camp meetings. In 1880, Jacks sold to the Pacific Improvement

Company 7000 acres on the Monterey Peninsula, extending from what is now Carmel to Pacific Grove. The price was \$5 per acre. H. D. Barrows and L. A. Ingersoll, *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Coast Counties of Central California* (Chicago, 1893), p. 241.

18. James Meadows, deserter from an English ship at Monterey in 1837, was one of Isaac Graham's "riflemen," some dozen of whom were exiled to San Blas in 1840. On his return, Meadows married a native woman and took over the fertile Palo Escrito grant in the Carmel Valley. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 736; III, 763, for Graham's exploits.

19. Pacificus Ord was a brother of Gen. E. O. C. Ord and Dr. James L. Ord, who had come to Monterey in 1847 with Company F, Third U. S. Artillery; Pacificus arrived "after 1848." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 759. Dr. Ord took care of Belcher when he was shot and stated that the dying man's ability to stand excruciating pain was amazing. Barrows and Ingersoll, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

20. James McKinley was mess boy on the British vessel *Royal George*. In company with William Garner, James Watson, and a negro named Robinson, they deserted ship Nov. 16, 1824, in Santa Barbara "because the food was bad." *Mexican Archives*, Monterey County recorder's office, XIII, 711. McKinley owned grants in Monterey, San Luis Obispo, and Los Angeles counties. In 1848 he married Carmen, daughter of José Amesti. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 725.

21. Duncan W. Perley, who came from New Brunswick, subsequently moved from Stockton to San Francisco. For his friendship with Terry, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 724-25.

22. Judge C. M. Creaner arrived in California in 1850. His justice and firmness were proverbial, and he could not be intimidated by the vigilantes. Herbert O. Lang, *History of Tuolumne County* (San Francisco, 1882), pp. 39-44, 150-52.

23. Russel Heath, born in New York, came to Santa Barbara in 1850. He was sheriff in 1854-58, a member of the legislature in 1858, and district attorney, 1859-62. Thompson and West, *History of Santa Barbara County* (Oakland, 1883), p. 25.

24. Probate Case 34.

25. Dr. F. A. McDougall, who was educated in Edinburgh, practiced medicine at San Juan. He married the widow of Juan María Anzar and took over the management of the Aromitas, Santa Ana, Vega del Pájaro, Los Carneros, and Cañada de la Carpintería ranchos. Isaac Mylar speaks very highly of Dr. McDougall's ability as a physician, stating that no matter how bad the weather or the poverty of the patient, he would answer every call. Also, he was never known to send a bill. Mylar, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

26. McMahon came to Monterey in 1848. (Cf. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 726, where details of McMahon's death are omitted.)

27. José Abrego, a member of the Hajar and Padres colony, arrived in Monterey in 1834 from Mexico. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 686, speaks particularly well of his intelligence and character. Abrego bought the wrecked Natalia, on which Napoleon escaped from Elba, and used a portion to build his home in Monterey; it is still in excellent condition. Barrows and Ingersoll, *op. cit.*, p. 79. The Abrego family's piano, one of three brought to California in 1843, is in the collection of the California Historical Society.

28. Pedro Zabala, a Spanish Basque, learned to operate gold scales in Chile, where he was in business. In 1849 he came to San Francisco to sell a shipload of goods, then settled, the same year, in Monterey. Zabala married Anna Hartnell, daughter of W. E. P. Hartnell, and amassed a large fortune. Barrows and Ingersoll, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

29. In his deposition, Monk says that he was in a poker game the night before the case of McDougall vs. Belcher was to be tried, and that he caught a professional gambler cheating. In kicking the fellow out of the game, he said: "... shooting is too good for you, you should be taken out and hanged." The next morning the gambler was found

dangling from an oak tree behind the home of J. B. R. Cooper. While Monk was waiting outside the courtroom, Belcher approached him and told him to leave the country, as the grand jury had, a few minutes before, indicted him for murdering the gambler. At the same time, Belcher offered him a bag of money, a horse, and a bodyguard. Monk denied killing the gambler and asked Belcher where he had heard of the indictment. The latter replied, "Through a crack in the grand jury room." Monk refused to leave, and within fifteen minutes he was arrested and jailed. After Belcher received the decision, Monk was released and nothing more was ever said about the murder.

30. McDougall *vs.* Belcher (court records in Monterey County clerk's office, Salinas).

31. Washington Hotel was erected in 1832 by Eugenio Montenegro as a residence, but it was enlarged and used as a hotel before the American occupation. Further enlarged by Trescony, it housed a hundred guests at the time of the constitutional convention. The barroom with its card tables was often raided by Alcalde Colton and the gamblers fined. Trescony was an Italian tinsmith who started his fortune making miners' pans. He came to Monterey in 1844. J. M. Delkin, *Monterey Peninsula* (Berkeley, 1941), p. 120.

32. Charles Wolter was a German captain of a Mexican vessel. He settled in Monterey in 1833 and married a daughter of J. R. Estrada, becoming by this marriage claimant for El Toro rancho. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 780.

33. Simpson Conover was a prosperous merchant of Monterey.

34. George W. Crane came to California in 1844 and was a member of Frémont's California Battalion. In 1851, he was elected (but was disqualified) to the legislature from Sonoma County; seven years later, however, he represented Monterey County in the assembly. When he died, in November 1868 in the smallpox epidemic that struck San Juan, very little was left of his wife's fortune due to his gambling propensities. He and Mrs. Crane had one daughter. Mrs. Encarnación Ortega Sánchez-Godden-Sanford-Crane married for the fifth time and spent her last days at the home of one of her daughters by the first husband in the list. *Monterey County Democrat*, Nov. 7, 1868; Salinas *Index*, Dec. 26, 1878.

35. The headstone over his grave in the Monterey cemetery reads: "Thomas Williamson, murdered in Monterey County, Nov. 7, 1856."

36. Spence came to Monterey in 1824 from Peru, to superintend the meat-packing plant of Begg & Co. In 1829, he married Adelaida, daughter of Mariano Estrada, and was later grantee of the Encinal y Buena Esperanza rancho. For an account of his activities, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 730.

37. García started Tiburcio Vásquez on his career of crime in 1850, when they killed Constable Harmount at a dance in Monterey. According to Truman Beeman, who was drinking with Belcher when he was shot and who was deputy sheriff when García was hanged in jail, García was the most bloodthirsty man in Monterey County's history. Mrs. García told him that her husband admitted fourteen murders to her. The most appalling of these took place in 1848, when García persuaded a small boy to steal a money-box in the presidio; after meeting him in the woods with the box, he cut the boy's throat. Salinas *Weekly Index*, Oct. 9, 1873, and Feb. 4, 1874. His criminal career as head of the "Manilas," a gang of Mexican cut-throats, is described by Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 204.

38. This community got its name from the weed, tucho, that grows there. El Tucho was the headquarters for the Berryessa gang and for the Manilas. When Gov. John McDougal commissioned S. E. Woodworth in May 1851 to clean out the thieves and gave him \$9000, he failed utterly. Henry Cocks, a deserter from a British gunboat, said he would do the job if appointed justice of the peace of Natividad. In wiping out the Berryessa gang, he killed some women. For this he was denounced, but he replied that they were "but seed" for future criminals and he proceeded to kill Claudio and five

others of his gang while they were near El Tucho. *Salinas Ranch and Farm*, March 16, 1946; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 204.

39. Joaquín de la Torre was a man of courage and was so proclaimed by the Americans whom he fought. It was he who arrested Isaac Graham and several other foreigners in 1840 and took them to San Blas (see note 18 above). Four years later he was active in the revolution against Gov. Manuel Micheltorena. Joaquín and his brothers Estevan and Gabriel played other important roles in early Monterey history, as outlined in Bancroft's "Pioneer Register" (*California*, V, 749-50). Joaquín was grantee of Rancho Arroyo Seco.

40. Charles Layton, who had come to Monterey in 1847 with Company F, Third U. S. Artillery, was keeper of the Point Pinos lighthouse which had just been erected; Beckwith had only been in Monterey for a few days and was looking for excitement. *Salinas Daily Post*, April 23, 1934.

41. A nephew of the American statesman Henry Clay, Tom Clay had a reputation for keeping order in the schools where he taught. He never spared the rod, and where the pupils were tough he kept a pistol within handy reach. Clay was an agnostic; he was also a great marksman. In the early Sixties, he was arrested at Monterey for "calling his shots" on the religious statues in the Carmel Mission. *Salinas Daily Post*, April 30, 1934; Mylar, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

42. Named after the bitumen or tar pits. In recent years, many prehistoric animals have been uncovered in these pits. They are located within the city limits of Los Angeles.

43. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 206.

44. *Pajaro Times*, Sept. 8, 1866.

45. Edward McGowan in *Salinas Weekly Index*, Dec. 26, 1878.

Kit Carson at Cajón—Not Tejón

By JOHN ADAM HUSSEY

DESPITE at least eight book-length biographies of Christopher ("Kit") Carson, to say nothing of numerous periodical articles and works for juveniles, many gaps still exist in his story. For example, What was he doing in the winter of 1847-48? In his autobiography, Carson merely stated that late in 1847 he was assigned to duty with Capt. A. J. Smith's company of dragoons at Los Angeles, and that during "the greater part of the winter" he was stationed at Tejón Pass in command of a detachment of twenty-five men and was charged with preventing "Indians from taking through stolen animals."¹

It is rather surprising that no one has questioned Carson's statement that he occupied a position at Tejón Pass.² The location was about ninety miles north of Los Angeles, at the summit of the Tehachapi Mountains which separate the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley from the Mojave Desert. It was a strategic spot, for through it the principal trail from Los Angeles and Antelope Valley crossed the range before dropping down to the Tulare Lake region.³ But in 1847 there were few travelers with sufficient courage to venture into the San Joaquin Valley. Therefore the military authorities at Los Angeles probably had little reason to station soldiers at the pass, as one writer says, to examine "manifests and packs, and men and motives."⁴ The Indians in the vicinity of the Tejón were troublesome, so troublesome indeed that they appear long before the last months of 1847 to have driven most, if not all, of the few ranchers in the region back into the settlements.⁵ Thus there probably were no horses or cattle in the neighborhood of the pass to be preyed upon by thieving savages. If the ranchos in the San Fernando area required protection, they doubtless could have been better defended from a more centrally located spot than the distant and easily by-passed Tejón.⁶ Therefore, although possible, it does not seem likely that Carson was stationed at Tejón Pass during the winter of 1847-1848, a conclusion which is borne out by what is known of the record.

In 1847 Carson was at the peak of his fame as a mountain man and scout. He was as well known on the prairies, said an English naval officer who saw him at Monterey in 1846, as was the Duke of Wellington in Europe.⁷

And indeed he had come far since the time in 1826 when, a mere boy of "about 16," he had run away from David Workman's saddlery shop in Franklin, Missouri, and joined a caravan bound for Santa Fé. After three years as a teamster and roustabout, the lad was accepted as a member of a trapping expedition, and during the next thirteen years he hunted the beaver and the buffalo throughout the plains and the Rockies, gaining thereby a superb knowledge of western geography and a modest renown among fron-

tiersmen. But his real fame resulted from his well-publicized services as guide to John Charles Frémont during three government-sponsored exploring expeditions; and further glories were added to his name by his heroic exploits as a member of Frémont's California Battalion during the conquest of California.

Fresh from the scene of conflict, Carson arrived in Washington, D. C., early in the summer of 1847 as bearer of dispatches from Frémont to the state department. He was met at the station by a woman who introduced herself as Mrs. Frémont and then "led him off by his arm." That was the only moment during his life, Carson was fond of saying to greenhorns in later years, when he was "badly scared."⁸

During his stay at the national capital, the stocky frontiersman resided at the home of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Frémont's father-in-law, and twice conferred with President James K. Polk. One result of these interviews was Carson's appointment, on June 9, 1847, as 2d lieutenant in the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, U. S. A. It was generally believed, at the time, that the commission was a spontaneous gesture on the part of the President, in recognition of Carson's services to the nation, but Secretary of State James Buchanan, a great friend of Senator Benton, privately claimed credit for obtaining the nomination. "I suggested the propriety of his appointment to the President & Secretary of War," Buchanan wrote to Frémont, "& they acceded [*sic*] to it without a moment's hesitation."⁹

At the next session of congress the senate refused to confirm Carson's nomination, but, unapprehensive of such action, the new lieutenant set out across the continent about June 15 with dispatches from the war department to the military commanders in New Mexico and California. Carson reached Los Angeles late in October or early in November 1847.¹⁰ Before continuing northward to military headquarters at Monterey, he put himself in touch with Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson, the New York politician who was serving as military commander of the southern district of California.¹¹ Carson informed Stevenson that he would like to be assigned to duty in California and to be stationed at Los Angeles. Stevenson relayed these wishes to Col. Richard Barnes Mason, military governor of California, on November 7. "I hope you may deem it consistent with the good of the service to assign him to my command," he wrote, "as I am very short of officers."¹²

In his letter, Stevenson advised Mason that Lieutenant Carson would "proceed at once" to Monterey; but the frontiersman must have delayed at Los Angeles longer than anticipated, or his journey up the coast road must have been unusually slow, for he did not reach Colonel Mason's headquarters with his mail until November 22.¹³ To make matters worse, one of Carson's mules broke down near San Luis Obispo, and as a consequence he left there his private baggage, including his orders and instructions from the war department.¹⁴

Colonel Mason was a regular army officer of much experience and with

a reputation for severity. Reading between the lines of the strictly formal official correspondence of the period, one gains, though perhaps erroneously, the impression that he was not too pleased when the unlettered Carson, a staunch supporter of the "Benton-Frémont clique," reported himself for duty as 2d Lieut. Christopher Carson, U. S. A. At any rate, regardless of his personal feelings in the matter, the governor could not comply with the request of Stevenson and Carson by assigning the frontiersman to duty with the troops at Los Angeles until he had examined Carson's credentials. Therefore, the following order was issued by the departmental headquarters at Monterey on November 25, 1847:

Lieut. C. Carson, Regt of Rifles, having reported himself as such, at Dept. Hd Qrs., in charge of a mail from the U. States will proceed to Ciudad de Los Angeles, California, and there recruit his animals and party so as to be ready for future similar service. He will transmit to these Head Quarters by the first opportunity copies of any orders or instructions he may have received from the Department at Washington City.¹⁵

On that same day Colonel Stevenson was informed by letter of the circumstances which prevented Carson's assignment to the Los Angeles garrison. "As soon as Carson's orders from the Adjutant General of the Army are received," Stevenson was told, "Colonel Mason will determine what he shall do, and in the meantime wishes you to enable him to get his animals in as good condition as possible."¹⁶

In accordance with his instructions, Carson returned to Los Angeles. He was in that city on December 13 when Juan Ignacio Martinez, a representative of a caravan of New Mexican traders which had been halted by the military authorities at the Cajón Pass, arrived to plead with Colonel Stevenson to permit the merchants to enter California and to conduct their customary trading for horses and mules without undue restriction. Carson had known Martinez in Taos for many years, and he hastened to assure Stevenson that the traders were "staunch and unwavering" friends of the United States. Largely because of this endorsement, the colonel directed Lieut. John Wynn Davidson at El Cajón to admit the New Mexicans under "such arrangements as will incommode them the least."¹⁷

Possibly Carson delivered this order to Davidson in person, because on December 15, 1847, a member of the Los Angeles garrison noted in his diary that "Lieut Davidson and Kit Carson returned from a scouting expedition to meet a body of mexicans that were coming into the country to sell their goods."¹⁸ Two days later Carson dined with Lieut. John McHenry Hollingsworth of the New York Volunteers. The frontier hero described "many particulars" of hardships encountered during his trips with Frémont and, according to Hollingsworth's journal, avowed that "the government can never repay me for my trouble."¹⁹

By December 27 Carson's credentials had reached Monterey, and on that date Colonel Mason assigned him to temporary duty with Company C, First Regiment, U. S. Dragoons, stationed at Los Angeles. The sixteen men whom

Carson had hired at Santa Fé to accompany him to California were ordered discharged from the service; but, directed the governor, "the public mules and saddles brought by Lieutenant Carson will be kept by the Quarter Master in *reserve* and in perfect readiness to be used, when they may be required for a *return mail* to Santa Fé."²⁰

The records have thus far yielded little information concerning Carson's activities in southern California during January 1848. At that time Governor Mason was occupied with the problem of how to raise enough troops to garrison points seized by United States forces in Lower California. As one solution, he planned to send Lieut. W. H. Warner to Great Salt Lake to do recruiting among the Mormons. On January 31 Colonel Stevenson was ordered to have Carson and "a suitable escort" accompany Warner on this mission, but plans for the trip were later canceled.²¹

Meanwhile, Colonel Stevenson had some ideas of his own concerning the best manner of utilizing the services of the former trapper. On February 1, 1848, the following order was issued by the headquarters of the southern military district:

2nd Lieut Carson, Regt. of Mounted Riflemen, will proceed at once to the Mission of "San Luis Rey" in this District and upon his arrival at that place, will assume the command of the Post and portion of the command of Mormon Volunteers there stationed. . . .²²

Whether or not Carson actually reached San Luis Rey and took up his duties as garrison commander is not known. Before many days had passed, however, news reached Los Angeles which resulted in his being switched to an entirely different type of service.

During the first days of February, an old fear gripped the hearts of the *rancheros* living to the east of the Pueblo de los Angeles. Herds of horses had begun to disappear from the ranges near San Bernardino, and the owners knew that once again, as during practically every spring for years past, vicious bands of Ute Indians from the Great Basin had crossed the Mojave Desert and slipped through the mountain passes to loot the vast cattle ranches of southern California.²³

Acting with speed born of long experience, the Lugo family of Rancho San Bernardino and their neighbors organized a party of native Californians and local Indians and, on February 3, set out in search of the horse thieves. But evidently not too much was expected from these efforts, because at the same time the ranchers of the threatened districts appealed to the *alcalde* of Los Angeles and to the U. S. military authorities for aid in checking the depredations.²⁴

As a matter of fact, assistance by the American commander at Los Angeles, either in the form of men or munitions, was almost a necessity if the raiders were to be repulsed. The United States and Mexico were still at war, and California, as a conquered province, was under the control of the American armed forces. The Yankee officers looked with a wary and suspicious

eye upon the Californians, who had already once revolted against occupying American troops; and consequently ammunition was not available in the open market to the Hispanic inhabitants of the country. The Californian rancheros thus found themselves virtually disarmed and practically helpless in the face of the marauding savages.

When the call for assistance reached him on February 6, the solution to the problem was immediately apparent to Colonel Stevenson. The key to the defense of the entire Los Angeles area against Indian raids was the Cajón Pass, the break in the San Bernardino Mountains through which nearly all travel from the east by the Mojave route reached the settlements of southern California.²⁵ Where today run the tracks of a transcontinental railroad and the ribbon of U. S. Highway 66, then wound the dusty path of the Santa Fé trader, the horse thief, and the trapper. There were other passes through the range, but El Cajón was the only one through which thieves could drive large herds of horses quickly enough to outdistance pursuit.²⁶ Colonel Stevenson knew that by holding the "Cahoon," as American newcomers sometimes termed it, he could choke off at will the bulk of the traffic, legitimate or illegitimate, which bound the City of the Angels to the Great Basin and the outposts of the American frontier.

Ordinarily, the necessity of plugging this gap in the region's natural defenses might have caused the colonel some embarrassment. The few dragoons and the New York Volunteers who comprised the bulk of his command could ill be spared from their garrison duties near the centers of population. Furthermore, many of his officers were city men, unversed in the highly skilled occupation of chastising hostile savages. As Stevenson wrote a short time later, "All the experience I have had in this country and all I can learn as to the experience of others satisfies me that to hunt thieving Indians with American soldiers who are entirely ignorant of the country and the Indian haunts is perfectly useless and cannot afford the least protection."²⁷

On this particular occasion, however, the colonel must have suffered somewhat less distress than usual when called upon to send a detachment to protect the outlying ranchos, for did he not have under his command at that moment the world's most famous Indian fighter? And what was more, as 2d Lieut. Christopher Carson, the frontiersman possessed sufficient rank to take charge of such troops as could be spared for the duty. It was probably with considerable satisfaction, therefore, that Colonel Stevenson issued the following order on February 6, 1848:

Lieut. Carson, Rifle Regiment, will upon the receipt of this order proceed at once to the House known as "Jose Maria Lugo's" near the Cajon Pass, where he will take command of a party of dragoons, that will be sent from here to that place—From the House of Lugo Lieut. Carson will proceed and take such a position, as will best protect the surrounding country from the "Utah Indians" or others who may commit any depredations. Lieut. Carson is authorized to make the citizens around him take up arms under his com-

mand, in case of necessity—His men will be furnished from this Post with all supplies, except fresh Beef, which he will purchase.²⁸

From the wording of these instructions it appears that Carson may not have been in Los Angeles when the order was issued and that it may have been forwarded to him at some distant point, perhaps San Luis Rey. In another order issued on February 6, Colonel Stevenson directed that two non-commissioned officers and eighteen privates of Company C, First Dragoons, should start from the pueblo at noon the next day with the object of meeting Lieutenant Carson at the house of José María Lugo, on the former mission rancho Jumuba in the San Bernardino Valley. The troops were to carry rations for fifteen days.²⁹

As far as is known, the detachment met its new commander as directed and moved on to Cajón Pass, where it took up station; but for some reason, still undetermined, the men and their officer were back in Los Angeles before the end of the month.

On March 1, Colonel Stevenson ordered Capt. Andrew Jackson Smith, of Company C, to make up another detail of eighteen privates and two non-commissioned officers. These men were to be placed under the command of Carson, who was to "return with them to the 'Cajon Pass' in continuation of the instructions previously received by him." Captain Smith was also to "furnish and equip the detail fully" and to "turn into the Ordnance Sergeant, their Dragoon Carbines, drawing in their stead the new pattern of Government Rifles, with which they will be armed."³⁰

Seemingly this force performed its mission effectively, because there are no records of Indian depredations near San Bernardino while Kit Carson held the Cajón.³¹ During the last week in March, the frontiersman was relieved of his duties at the pass and returned to Los Angeles, the watch at El Cajón being taken up by Lieut. George Stoneman, a West Pointer who later became a famous Civil War general and a governor of California.³²

As early as February 29, 1848, Colonel Mason had determined to send Carson once again across the continent with government dispatches. On that date the governor, through his adjutant, informed Colonel Stevenson of the plan, stating that Carson was to leave Los Angeles about the first of May and that the frontiersman and the acting assistant-quartermaster at the southern pueblo were to hire a suitable escort for the trip to Santa Fé. Colonel Mason, added the adjutant, "wants you to give general notice of the departure of this mail which will be permitted to carry free of charge light letters, but not heavy packages and newspapers."³³

During the next month military officers in both Lower and Upper California were informed of the projected journey, and notices of the proposed free mail were posted in public places and inserted in the press. The actual orders for Carson's departure, however, were not issued until April 1, 1848.³⁴

Official dispatches carried by Carson dated down to April 19. It has been

assumed by some writers that the frontiersman was in Monterey at about that time to receive personally the packets of mail from military headquarters,³⁵ but it is not likely that he had any time to spare for such a trip. According to Lieutenant Hollingsworth's diary entry for April 17, 1848, Carson was in or near Los Angeles on that date, "making preparations to leave this country for the United States."³⁶ It seems probable that the mountaineer spent the entire month of April at his camp on "Bridge Creek," some fifteen miles from the pueblo, recruiting his escort, fattening his mules, and readying his outfit, and that the dispatches and other packets which he was to carry were sent down from Monterey by the regular military mail. Certainly Colonel Mason had such a program in mind when, on April 1, he directed the acting assistant-quartermaster at Los Angeles to equip Carson's party and to pack in labelled bags and packages "all public documents and the light letters for citizens in New Mexico and the United States."³⁷

On May 3, 1848, Lieut. George Stoneman reported to Colonel Mason's headquarters that Lieutenant Carson was "ready to start at any time and will leave today if the rain stops in time for him to pack his things. He cannot pack them in the rain without them getting wet. He will leave tomorrow morning rain or shine."³⁸

The next day Carson, accompanied by Lieut. George Douglas Brewerton and a small party of men, left Los Angeles and headed out toward El Cajón on the long trail which led to Santa Fé. Except for a brief and inconsequential visit in 1853, he never again saw Los Angeles.³⁹

As can be seen by the foregoing account, Carson's movements between early November 1847 and early May 1848 can be traced in sufficient detail to demonstrate, at least, that he must have been in error when he later recalled that he had spent the "greater part of the winter" at Tejón Pass. Perhaps his tongue slipped as he dictated his memoirs or, more probably, perhaps those recording his words misunderstood him. At any rate, it is almost certain that the word "Tejón" was a mistake and that "Cajón" was the one which was meant.

Because of this one small error, the printed historical record has for more than a century contained no mention of the one service Frémont's famous guide performed specifically for the benefit of the Pueblo of los Angeles and its neighboring rancheros; nor of the fact that, as guardian of El Cajón, he once stood between the region's four-footed wealth and Indian raiders.

NOTES

1. Christopher Carson, *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life as Dictated to Col. and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57*, ed. by Blanche C. Grant (Taos, N. M., 1926), p. 87.

2. Bancroft (*History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-90, II, 747) does complain in general terms that Carson's "statements on his Cal. experience were not noticeable for their accuracy. . . ." Some other writers, lacking details, have attempted to round out

the Carson statement in this particular case by their own descriptions of the country near the head of Tejón Creek and by speculations concerning the nature of the frontiersman's supposed duties. See, for example, De Witt Clinton Peters, *The Life and Adventures of Kit Carson* . . . (New York, 1859), p. 312; and Edwin Legrand Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1856* (rev. ed., New York, 1935), II, 578-79.

3. Prior to the middle 1850's, the term "Tejón Pass" was applied to the gap watered by Tejón and Cottonwood creeks, about 15 miles to the east of the present Tejón Pass, which is at the head of Grapevine Canyon and near the present settlement of Lebec. For a discussion of early roads through both of these passes, see Helen S. Giffen and Arthur Woodward, *The Story of El Tejón* (Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 12-13. In this chapter it is assumed that if Carson *actually* did say "Tejón Pass" when dictating his autobiography, he meant the term to apply to the defile which bore that designation in 1847.

4. Sabin, *op. cit.*, p. 578.

5. For evidence concerning the effect of Indian hostility upon the rancheros near Tejón, see Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun, A History of the San Joaquin Valley—1772-1939* (Los Angeles, 1939), pp. 80, 82-85, 104. Fear of Frémont's Battalion was also given by several rancheros as a reason for the abandonment of the grants in the Tejón region. It is a safe assumption that the extent of the abandonment was even greater than that admitted by witnesses before the land commission and the U. S. courts.

6. When it appeared likely that the ranches in the San Fernando area might require protection from Indians, the military authorities decided not to station troops in the locality but to send munitions to a force of local Californian residents under the command of Andrés Pico. J. D. Stevenson to R. B. Mason, Los Angeles, Feb. 8, 1848, in U. S. war dept., adj. gen.'s office, 10th military dept., "Miscellaneous Letters and Orders File" (manuscript, war records div., National Archives, Wash., D. C.).

7. Frederick Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific, in Her Majesty's Ship "Collingwood," from 1844 to 1848* (2d ed., London, 1850), II, 216.

8. Charles R. Green, "Sketch Book 'No. 1,' Trip to California, 1867-68" (manuscript, Univ. Nebraska Library), p. 8.

9. J. Buchanan to J. C. Frémont, Washington, June 11, 1847, in James Buchanan Papers (manuscript, Hist. Soc. Pennsylvania, Phila.). For the conventional story of Carson's appointment, see Sabin, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

10. Carson said he arrived in October, but Colonel Stevenson reported his arrival to Governor Mason on Nov. 7, 1847. See Carson, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

11. Colonel Stevenson was ordered by Gen. S. W. Kearny to proceed to Los Angeles and relieve Lieut. Col. Philip St. George Cooke as commander of the southern military district on Apr. 28, 1847. Order No. 13, in U. S. war dept., adj. gen.'s office, 10th military dept., "Order Book, February-December, 1847" (manuscript, war records div., National Archives, Wash., D. C.), pp. 17-18.

12. J. D. Stevenson to R. B. Mason, Los Angeles, Nov. 7, 1847 (see source for citation in note 6 above).

13. It was evidently on this trip northward that Carson was accompanied, between Santa Barbara and Nipomo, by James Lynch, a member of the New York Volunteers who was engaged in riding the mail. Years later Lynch recalled that Carson "was very entertaining in his narration of incidents in his life on the frontier, but I felt that he often drew the long bow." [James Lynch], *With Stevenson to California, 1846* (n. p., 1896), p. 28.

William Tecumseh Sherman's well-known description of Carson's arrival at Monterey is to be found in Sherman's *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* (4th ed., New York, 1891), I, 74-75. According to Sherman, the army officers at Monterey succeeded "with difficulty" in extracting only "some items" of Carson's personal history.

14. Sherman to Stevenson, Monterey, Nov. 25, 1847, in U. S. war dept., adj. gen.'s office, 10th military dept., "Letter Book, March-December, 1847" (manuscript, war records div., National Archives), pp. 210-11.
15. Special Order No. 27 (see pp. 166-67 of source cited in note 11 above).
16. Sherman to Stevenson (as in note 14 above).
17. Stevenson to J. W. Davidson, Los Angeles, Dec. 13, 1847, in J. D. Stevenson, "Letter Book, to February, 1848" (manuscript, New York Hist. Soc., N. Y. City), pp. 336-37. For citation of other sources upon which this paragraph is based, as well as for further information concerning the trading caravan, see John Adam Hussey, "The New Mexico-California Caravan of 1847-1848," in *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, XVIII (Jan. 1943), 1-16.
18. J. McH. Hollingsworth, *The Journal of Lieutenant John McHenry Hollingsworth of the First New York Volunteers . . .* (San Francisco: this Society, 1923), p. 37.
19. *Loc. cit.* It is interesting to note that Carson also told Hollingsworth of his fright upon "being captured at the Cars by Mrs Fremont" in Washington, and upon being introduced to a roomful of ladies.
20. Special Order No. 28 (see pp. 185-86 of source cited in note 11 above). For the composition of the escort, see Carson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
21. Order No. 11 (see source cited in note 11 above, "Order Book, January-July, 1848," p. 22).
22. Order No. 4, in Jonathan D. Stevenson, "Regimental Order Book" (manuscript, New York Hist. Soc., N. Y. City), p. 149.
23. For a convenient popular presentation of the history of the raids by the Utes and other horse thieves upon southern California, see Eleanor Frances Lawrence, "Horse Thieves on the Spanish Trail," in *Touring Topics*, XXIII (Jan. 1931), p. 22.
24. Stevenson to Mason, Los Angeles, Feb. 8, 1848 (see citation in note 6 above); George William Beattie and Helen Pruitt Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley; San Bernardino's First Century* (Pasadena, Calif., 1939), pp. 77-78. On the morning of Feb. 3, a party of local Indians attacked a band of Utes and killed six of them.
25. For a statement as to the importance of Cajón Pass in any contest against horse thieves in the Los Angeles area, see L. Robidu [Rubidoux] *al* J. Bandini, Jurupa, March 11, 1846, in Juan Bandini, "Documentos para la historia de California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library, Univ. Calif., Berkeley), no. 67.
26. "The Cajon pass admits the ingress of Indians . . . and is the only pass in that district by which they can drive cattle or horses rapidly out." Bvt. Maj. Gen. P. F. Smith to Capt. Irvin McDowell, Sonoma, May 25, 1850, in 31st Cong., 2d sess., H. Ex. Doc. No. 1, Pt. II, pp. 75-81.
27. Stevenson to Mason, Los Angeles, May 16, 1848 (see source for citation in note 6 above). For greater ease in reading, slight changes have been made in the text as quoted. Another difficulty which plagued Colonel Stevenson when called upon to send troops to fight Indians was a lack of suitable horses. During the previous fall he offered to send a detachment of Mormon volunteers to the Cajón region, provided the local rancheros would furnish animals to mount them. The ranchers promised to do so, but the horses failed to materialize and the troops were not sent. In Feb. 1848, however, the fear of the Utes, supplemented by the invocation of a Mexican law (requiring ranchers to furnish horses for public service to check Indian depredations or to suppress insurrections), induced the Californians to come forward with all the horses required. Through the alcalde of Los Angeles, an arrangement was made for the requisitioning of animals at regular intervals, as long as it should be necessary to keep troops at the pass. For details of this arrangement, see Stevenson to Mason, as in note 6 above.
28. General Order No. 6, in Stevenson, "Regimental Order Book" (see note 22 above), p. 147.

29. General Order No. 7, in *ibid.*, p. 147.
30. General Order No. 11, in *ibid.*, p. 154.
31. Indian troubles in the San Bernardino region were renewed, however, during May, after the troops had been withdrawn from the pass. Antonio Prieto to Stevenson, San Bernardino, May 10, 1848 (see source for citation in note 6 above).
32. G. Stoneman to Stevenson, Los Angeles, Apr. 31, 1848, in *ibid.* (unpaged).
33. Sherman to Stevenson, Monterey, Feb. 29, 1848 (see note 14 above, "Letter Book, February-May, 1848," pp. 5-6).
34. Special Order No. 13 (source cited in note 11 above, "Order Book, January-July, 1848," p. 41).
35. Sabin, *op. cit.*, p. 582.
36. Hollingsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
37. As in note 34 above.
38. Stoneman to Sherman, Los Angeles, May 3, 1848 (see source for citation in note 6 above).
39. The story of the famous journey which was thus beginning has been told in detail by Lieutenant Brewerton. The account, first published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* ("Ride with Kit Carson," in vol. 7, pp. 306 ff.), has been edited by Stallo Vinton and published in book form under the title, *Overland with Kit Carson; a Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48* (New York and Chicago, 1930).

The Burrell Letters

Edited by REGINALD R. STUART

(Continued)

BIRNEY BURRELL'S DIARY

"Mon. [January] 31 [1853]

This morning we found ourselves very near land with our bow pointed towards it. I counted 8 ships including pilot vessels. Most of them got the start of us. One pilot boat came very near us. At length after waiting a good while for a pilot Mr Jhonson took command and steared us into harbor. We got a pilot before we came to anchor which was a good way out. Mr Jhonson and some of the gentlemen went ashore in a little boat a short time after the Flying Fish⁹⁵ passed us. I was the first to make it out. Mr Nichols⁹⁶ asked how is Mr Graves. Mr Spear⁹⁷ ans. he is sick. Mr Herric⁹⁸ asked how many days. Mr Nichols 90. To night we had rumors of Mr Hamlins death of Pirces election⁹⁹ and of Daniel Websters death.

Teus 1 This morning Mrs Hamlin's brother came on board and told her the sad truth they then went ashore in a little boat to settle down in a distant land. Mr. Atkinson Seniour¹⁰⁰ came on board. He was surprised at seeing his son for he had seen reports in the papers of his death 1 month after we started. This shows the truth of reports. They both went ashore. Mrs Turner objected going in a little boat. Here we are in sight of the city with tide against us 7 nots an hour.

Wedns 2 To day we were towed alongside the wharve by the steamer Resolute where we took leave of Mrs Turner and family who were going to settle down in Indian Valley¹⁰¹ and Mrs Staples¹⁰² and family. Ma has seen Mr Pebles and it is agreed that he shall put her on board a steamer for Alversio and send her baggage along in a sloop. Mr Jhonson has got to be captain. San Francisco is situated on a piece of rising ground. There are few houses in it but plenty of shipping. The houses are mostly wood. I went up to see Dock¹⁰³ he lives in a neat little house close by his uncles grocery. To night the ship floated off and got stuck in the mud and it was hard to get it back.

Thursday February 3d 1853

Thurs 3 Mr Jhonson and Mr Pebles accompanied us down to the C M Weber¹⁰⁴ where we took leave of them. We had a slow passage down and took dinner and supper on board the boat. I saw numerous parties of men shooting ducks. We could see mountains on both sides of us. After we had got to the end of the bay we went through a slough to Alversio¹⁰⁵. We got stuck in the mud 1 or 2 times. Several boats came out to take us ashore. But some of us staid. The boat arrived at the landing about 11 oclock.

Fri 4 Early this morning Ma and me went off from the boat. I started out to find father but took the wrong road. After traveling about 2 miles

I turned back I stopped to inquire in a house but found them Spanish.¹⁰⁶ I walked some ways with a Spaniard. after getting to Alviso I could see nothing of mother and the children. I returned again on the same road and walked about the same distance after turning about again I met a man who showed me across the river to my fathers home I found I had been traveling on the road between Alviso and San Jose. I was very tired but the song of a thousand birds cheered me up a good deal. After crossing the Godalupe¹⁰⁷ and walking through a good deal of mud I reached the appointed place I found father living on Mr. Clarks¹⁰⁸ ranche half way between Alviso and Santa Clara which are 5 miles apart mother and the children had taken the right road and got here before me I got acquainted with a boy about my age by the name of George.

Sat 5 Father is here working for Mr. Clark until he can get a place for himself Mr Armstead is also in the same position he is a young man I have been driving oxen for the plow all day the lot is a mile each way the house is made of red wood Georges brother Henry came to see him

Sun 6 Half a mile from us is a small creek¹⁰⁹ 1 mile from us is the river Godalupe In the mornings we have some frost and at night it is quite cold at noon it is warm. Mrs Clark was in that company that came across the plains told about in Thorntons¹¹⁰ 2d Vol of Oregon and California her maiden name is Mary Graves. Henry is 14 years old he lives in San Francisco and works at a lawyers office where he gets 50 dollars¹¹¹ a month.

Sun 27 This morning Mrs Cartwright Mr and Mrs Clark set out for San Jose I finished wrighting my letter to Howard¹¹² and started off for Santa Clara with a letter for Uncle Hanford¹¹³ and one for Uncle James from mother one for Susan Turner from Eliza one from Mr Armnstead and one from me after walking through about 2 miles of mud and water I arrived at Santa Clara here for the first time since I have been in California I saw a hand organ I inquired for the post office and found it locked after waiting a little while the post master¹¹⁴ came along he said he would do no buisness on Sunday so I had to put 3 of the letters in the box with out any stamp

Mar 8 This morning I went out into Mr Pebels lot weeding onions a job which pa has gave me after a little time I set fire to the weeds in the afternoon I went at the same work henry went with me after we got the work done we went hunting we saw several ducks but could hit none I fired off a light load at a rail we went along a little farther and came to a yellow breast I took the gun and fired at it and hit it in the head this was the 3d time I had fired a gun and the first time I had shot at game this was the only bird we killed this time.

The Strawberry Hunt¹¹⁵

June 5th 1853

June 5 This was the day set upon to start on a strawberry hunt over the mountains. of those who were to ride in the wagon there was Mrs Welland

and her daughter Mrs Irksome¹¹⁶ Mr Clark Mrs Clark and bob¹¹⁷ and mother clarry and me besides these there were Mrs Sanders¹¹⁸ dick george and pa rode on horseback pa put me on to the saddle to ride the first few miles in riding along I passed the place¹¹⁹ where I ought to have stopped to get me some shoes and therefore had to go little better than barefoot till I came back we stopped to eat dinner on the banks of a beautiful creek called the San _____¹²⁰ this creek Seems to be a division line between the hills and plains We traveled the remainder of the day over the rough hills¹²¹ and came to camp at night at the foot of the mountain in a beautiful little valley¹²² where there was plenty of wood water and feed the latter was mostly oats which grew as high as my waist here we built a fire and eat our supper and went to bed this was the first night I had ever slept out in the open air without any other covering than the blankets

" 6 Early this morning we started off and after going a little ways we came to the foot of the mountain where we got out of the wagon to walk up At the offset we saw some strawberrys but thes, were not ripe As we went up higher it grew colder and long before we got to the top of the mountain we were surrounded by an ocean of fog but occasionally a little wind would blow away the fog when our position would comand the most beautiful view not only of the valley below but that that we came from

June 6 After reaching the top of the mountain¹²³ we commenced descending we saw nothing of importance until we came in sight of the Ocean we had one bad hill to go down. On arriveing at the foot of the hills we found ourselves on a sort of table land about a mile in width full of ravines. As we were going along by the washbank I saw two islands which were completely covered with seals¹²⁴ so that I thought there could not another one get on we left our wagon on the high land where the strawberrys were and then went to carrying the things down to the beach I went first to picking berrys they are fine large ones and very sweet when first picked they are out on a tapering point of land from 20 to 2 rods in width after a while I went with dick to kill a seal we saw one that we thought was dead but when I went up and hit it with a stone it showed evident tokens of life by pounceing off the rocks into the water It had a head like a dog a body like a lion covered with short black hair their fore feet are very long like a hand their fore legs if legs they might be called are very short and look like the wrist to a hand their hind legs are a little longer and have a point at the foot

Wednesday June 7th 1853

" 7 This morning father went out with his rifle and killed a seal he fetched a little of the blubber into camp it was warn blooded he went back with a sack and butcher knife to carry some of it up hill but behold the Sorf had washed it away. I went out and got some sea shells but They were not very pretty

Thurs 7 The low rocks are covered with mussels and at low tide they can be shoveled up by the cart load. they are a rough homely looking shell. we had some to eat but I did not like them. We found some pearls in them I have seen a star fish it was sticking to the rocks as near as I can tell it was something this shape with B for the mouth and at C and D the points of the Star [small illustration has been omitted in this transcription]. it is all covered with a sort of bead work I did not carry it home. dick killed 3 sea gulls and pa killed one they are perfectly white and about as big as a duck We have got as many strawberries as we want and have decided on going home tomorrow

Fri 8 This morning pa and dick went out after seals pa killed one with his rifle and dick killed one with his shot gun They were both small ones and not very fat I went down there while they were taking off the blubber. while I was down there, there was a wave came over the rocks and washed me some 10 feet towards the bank it struck pa and knocked him over and carried his hat away which he came very near losing Dick came very near losing his shot gun by having it washed away. We put the blubber in the wagon to take home. We went home a differrant way from which we come¹²⁵ and gained a few miles shorter in exchange for a very long and steep hill where the mules could hardly pull the empty wagon up and most of the riders had to lead their horses up. we encamped in the opposite corner of the little valley where we staid when coming up

Saturday June 9th 1853

June 9 This morning we started off and got home about the middle of the afternoon. George fell off his horse while coming over the hills and pretended he could not get up again until mr Clark came with the horse whip and whipped him up and made him get in the wagon after this I had to ride home on horse-back. We stopped at carss Store¹²⁶ and pa got me a pair of shoes

July 3 Eliza was married to a mr Zenus Sikes today I did not get to hear the ceromony

" 4 It seems to me that this is the dullest forth of July that I ever saw there is nothing going on of any account. To be sure there is the Sunday School Scholars are going to have a pic-nic party but what is the use in going 3 or 4 miles just to see a set of fellows sit down and drink eat a good dinner when I cant get any of it myself so I shall have to content my self with reading novels (for we have abundance of them here. pa and mr Armstead started to go up on the mountains this morning. They have got a claim up there¹²⁷ all that I can tell about the situation is that it is some where near the half way house¹²⁸ between Santa Clara and Sant Cruz Pa says there is plenty of hazel nuts black berryes and strawberryes up there. he and mr Armstead have got a new house most built. we are going to move up there as soon as we can get the potatoe crop in

The trip from the Valley to the Mountain Home as written by Mr. Burrell:¹²⁹

"I selected this ridge where I now live, and where my three children are settled around me. I then thought it was Government land.¹³⁰ It seemed a vast, solitary wilderness—no houses, and no roads. I knew that bears and lions dwelt here, but I feared them not.

"It might truly have been called a 'howling wilderness:' for these beautiful hills and valleys, now covered with orchards and vineyards, comfortable houses, school-houses, good roads, with all kinds of improvement going on, and everywhere teeming with busy life, were then the abode of fierce and dangerous animals. They made their homes in the thickets and hollow trees, and went forth both day and night to seek food for themselves and for their young. Wild cats and lions were often seen prowling about while the sun was shining: and the night was often made hideous by the howling of the coyotes. There were a few wild cattle here, also deer and other game: but no roads or fences.

"When we were ready to move up to our 'Mountain Home,' my wife was in very delicate health. It was feared that the journey would be too hard for her. A lady friend in Santa Clara kindly drove with her in a buggy across the valley to where the town of Los Gatos now stands. Here she rested in the house of a Spanish family.¹³¹ I hired four yoke of oxen and two wagons.

"An old friend, who had formerly been my partner in business, kindly offered to accompany and assist us on the journey. We packed our household goods on the wagons, also one little pig, which was put into a box, and a few chickens. The three children went along with us, riding or walking, as they chose. We also took a saddle-horse with us, on which my wife was to ride. Towards evening we reached the Los Gatos, then known as 'Jones's Creek,' and here my wife joined our company. We made a good fire, ate supper, spread our blankets on the ground, and slept soundly,—after which we felt as much refreshed as if we had slept on feathers and in a palace.

"After an early breakfast, we began our second day's journey. The ascent of the mountains was not as easy in those days as it is now. We had then no graded turnpike. The road we were to travel had been made for the purpose of getting down logs. It was very rough and steep, and sometimes very sideling. In some places we found it difficult to keep the cattle from sliding off the lower side. We first went over Jones's hill,¹³² a distance of about four miles, on the East side of the Creek; then we crossed over and went to the top of another hill on the north side of Moody's gulch, now known as the 'Evans place.' We selected the top of this hill for our second camping ground. On climbing these hills we had to double our team, and carry up only one load at a time. Here we were all glad to rest. We made our fire, fed our cattle, and laid our supper on a table-cloth which we spread on the ground.

"We slept soundly the second night. We already began to feel the benefit

of the pure and invigorating mountain air. On the third day we followed trails, or made our way as best we could to the top of a hill near Mountain Charly's. It was so rough and steep that we had to partly unload our wagons and take up only a part of a load at a time, thus making several trips. After a hard day's work, and having made but very little progress, we camped near a large rock. The next day we had no trail at all to follow; but we finally reached our home in safety. We unpacked our goods, and took supper in our own house. We all were pleased with our new home and its surroundings. We enjoyed the fine view of those magnificent old mountains on the North. We were delighted to see the waters of the Pacific on the South, nearly fifteen hundred feet below us: and it seemed as if we had never seen such gorgeous sunsets as we then saw here. We laid many plans for beautifying and improving our place; and we then christened it 'Mountain Home.'"

[To Mr Lyman J. Burrell, Santa Clara]

Tallmadge Dec. 21. 1853.

Dear Brother & Sister Burrell.

We have learned from brother Elizur that you had become located in your mountain home. That your location is good & healthful, & that your prospect is favorable, & that your health had improved in your mountain home. For these things we give thanks to the bestower of all our mercies. We hope that your health may be confirmed, & that as a family you may be permitted & enabled to live together in peace & contentment, & with a suitable measure of prosperity, after having been so long separated & scattered & after so much toil, & pain expense in getting to, & preparing a new home. We had long waited with solicitude for a second letter from you. one from Santa Clara Post Office we had received, giving an account of your journey over the oceans & how you found Mr. Burrell & how you were situated. This I answered soon & hoped to receive another, But none has come. We were very solicitous to hear from you again & not hearing were fearful, that the reason was inability to write on account of sickness. I should have written again, had I known where to direct. I made an agreement with br. Elizur, that if either received a letter from you, it should be communicated or the substance of it to the other. He received one & wrote me the 29th of Nov. which I communicated to Solon,¹³³ Sheffield¹³⁴ & Belle Prairie.¹³⁵ But Elizur did not mention your post office address. I have to day concluded to write you & inclose it in one to him that he may give it the proper direction. A letter from Lucy received about the same time as my last from Elizur represents their health comfortable a prosperous season, full crops good & secured, & plenty of work laid out for the winter. She says we are talking about going to California, & asks what I think of it. I have written encouragingly, believing that it would be well for Mr. Burrell & Dr. Lewis to have farms near each other & give their attention to that business believing, that there are many locations in that country where that

business may be carried on successfully, believing also, that you have detected a location of this description I think they would encourage each other & assist each other.¹³⁶ I believe also, that if the Lord direct & prospers, it would be not only pleasant but profitable for the sisters to be situated near each other. It is probable, that by an other fall the rail road across the isthmus may be completed. When this is completed the journey may be performed in less time & with much less fatigue than families formerly experienced in coming from Connecticut to the Reserve. If they should conclude to go, I therefore hope the way will be opened before them & that the Lord will guide their way safely to you before the close of another year. They will doubtless seek wisdom from above in this thing, & I trust, they will discover in the leadings of a wise & good Providence, the way in which they should go, & the plan, where they should take up their abode. You must help them by your prayers, & by such representations as will correspond with their judgments, when they come to see things as they are. It is pretty clear to my mind that they are not satisfied with their present location. True things may so change in the course of a few months, as to alter their views, & cause them to see that they are in the right place. A serious difficulty with them however is the severity of the winters & no great change is to be anticipated in this respect. James' family enjoy health, they have fixed out three to attend school this winter. Among his people nothing very specially marked had recently appeared, at the date of his last. The fore part of December, Mr. Seward & Harriet¹³⁷ as usual at the last dates. Our friends here are generally comfortable. Julia Loomis is still at her father's. Her health is such, that with Frank's aid she takes most of the care of her babe, t's a fine healthful boy & has done so for several months. She has been here a year & a half [Remainder of line illegible]

to New York & returned to Tallmadge after such a short absence. Dr. U. & Polly¹³⁸ think she cannot be well taken care of any where else. Of course they must attend to her & her children. For some months past, they have been greatly troubled for women's help, & Polly has undertaken to do more than she is able & is sinking under her burdens. Amelia cannot see her sink without attempting to aid & she is putting her shoulder under the burden, which, if aid is not soon procured will crush them both. Br. Francis¹³⁹ & family are in usual health. He has been greatly prospered in his farming business during the last season or during the now closing year. Br. Philo wife & Amelia are at home well. Rhoda is at Detroit. Philo Jr is with Anson in Canida engaged in the lumber business & will probably spend the winter there. Esq. Washington of Windham, died about the 30th of Nov. Old Mr. Carothers was buried last week on Saturday. A time of general health. A son of Rev. Mr. Bradstreet teaches the Academy¹⁴⁰ this winter. The men have been working on the rail road thro Tallmadge several months. It passes just east of the center & a little south of the burying ground and then between

the [illegible] & Mrs. Ashman's & runs through D. Upson's meadow some rods south of Camp brook. My health is not very good. Amelia would be comfortable had she no family to see to but her own. We are anxious to hear how your health is, how you are provided for, how you are situated as to neighbors; what religious privileges you enjoy what is your Post office address & your distance from office; & as many particulars respecting situation of family as may be. Amelia joins me in love to you all.

Your brother WM. HANFORD

N. B. Please to let us hear from you as soon as may be—

[To Mrs Amelia Hanford, Tallmadge, Ohio]

Dear Brother & Sister

The Mountain Home March 4th 1854

Yours of Dec 21st came to us this week on monday in company with three others, one from Elizur Dec 19th one from Lucy Dec 27th and one from sister Knapp Dec 23rd; they were brought us by Mr Sykes, Eliza's husband; he and one of his brothers are in pardonship, and have a claim not far from us on this mountain; they have one also in the valley where they live, the men coming up here occasionally to see to their cattle and hogs. Santa Clara is still our post office it [is] about eighteen miles distant. Eliza lives about four miles from Santa Clara in the same valley. You have probably before this received a letter from me, giving some account of our journey here, and a faint description of our place and the surrounding scenery The rain did not commence as early this season as usual and we did not have so much of it; but we are abundantly supplied now. The small pond¹⁴¹ (or lagoon as it is called here) in front of our house is full and over flowing and springs are breaking out from the hill sides in all directions We have also had more cold weather during the winter than is common for this country: we had some snow here on the mountain but there was none in the valley, though I think they suffer more with the cold there than we do here, (at all events) they are not so bountifully supplied with fuel as we of the mountain, many of them having four or five [miles] to go for wood, and then pay for it; we have plenty all around us both dry and green, red wood and oak; the oak burns almost as well as hickory, and the red wood is not quite equal to pitch pine but resembles it some what. We have a fire place at one end of our house and the cook stove stands at the other; the house is twenty eight feet in length and twelve in width; we have posts set to divide it into two rooms but the boards have not been nailed on yet. it is however quite comfortable and we have enjoyed the cheerful blaze of the red wood in our fire place very much, it gives sufficient light for reading or knitting. We continue to like our home here as well or better than when we first came to it Mr Burrell finished putting [in] his wheat week before last, it is now up and looking finely, he also sowed some turnips that are up and growing. they have planted early potatoes, and we should have planted

beans, peas beets, &C, had it not rained. The land here looks mellow and rich as it is turned over by the, plough and one would think it might produce abundantly, we have strong hopes that it will. The only fault we find with our place is, it is not handy to market, that is we have no good waggon road to the valleys on either side of us; t'is true we came up here with waggons, but we were nearly three days about it, and were obliged to go five or six miles farther than we do on horse-back,¹⁴² our provisions were all packed up the mountains on horses and mules. Mr Burrell got a waggon and brought a load to the foot of the mountain and left it there¹⁴³ till he and Birney could pack it home. Birney went with the horses one day to help a neighbor and we had his mules to help up with our load. By setting out early in the morning they could get a load and come back the same day some times they did not get home till nine or ten at night. Birney went down two or three times alone and did not get back till after dark I did not feel very easy about him you may be sure for the trail passes through the canyon of a creek for about three miles, it is a dismal place after sundown; we come up out of it about [illegible] miles from here. We have not yet had the satisfaction of seeing any of the monsters that inhabit these mountains and ravines in the shape of grizzly bears lions, panthers, &C, but we see their tracks and know of their depredations; one of them came and took a large pig from a pen about a rod from the house, a few nights ago it came again, and attacked a good sized dog¹⁴⁴ that lay by the door I should think the dog is about the size of Maje the one that David owned when I was there. I suppose the dog was asleep when the animal sprung upon him for I heard the rattle against the house and door, after which the dog yelped, the animal succeeded in dragging the dog a few steps from the door Mr Burrell took his gun and opened the door but the night was so dark he could not distinguish between them and did not fire he thought from what he could discern the animal was considerable larger than the dog, we conclude it was a lion or large panther, for a grizzly would have taken the dog with him as they are not easily frightened It is said that one came in the day time and carried off a calf from a pen while several men were standing at a little distance making a noise to scare it away; this happened on the other side of these mountains

Our family are all well, my health continues to improve. I am considerably more fleshy than I have been for several years past. I was very glad to hear that Julia was able to be about again, and take care of her babe. I think if she could come and spend a few months with me, and breath this pure mountain air, and ramble over the hills, she would be quite well again.

Our neighbors here have all been of the bachelor order till week before last. Mr Wayland who lives about a mile from us brought his Mother and sister up here to stay a while. they have a farm in the valley and will probably go back and stay during harvest, as they have some sixty or seventy acres of wheat and barley there, I think the old lady will like to live here

best, for she says she has long wanted to live where there was plenty of wood and good water both of which are abundant here. It is very pleasant to me to have some female neighbors; though I have not suffered at all from being lonesome. I went down to the valley and made a visit of a week about Christmas. Martha had been there with Eliza about two weeks Birney and Clara went with me, we left Mr Burrell alone, for one night only, Birney went back with the horses the next day and came for us at the expiration of a week. The weather was fine the roads dry and we had a fine ride and visit; our neighbors were very much surprised to see me looking so young and healthy; for when I left them they thought I could hardly live to reach my home on the mountain

We expect to send Birney to the valley the first of next week and I have so many letters to answer I shall be obliged to shorten them all a little Give our love a general distribution among the relatives and friends Martha and Clara would like to be remembered to Julia & Cornelia

Your affectionate sister CLARISSA BURRELL

[Clarissa Burrell to Rev. William Hanford, Tallmadge, Ohio]

Dear Brother & Sister

The Mountain Home March 19" [1854]

Yours of Jan 26th was received two days since. Mr Burrell happened to be down in the valley when the mail came in, so we got our letters direct. I sent to the office last week an answer to yours of Dec. 22nd of course I have not much news on hand of importance. With regard to our house it is built of red wood,¹⁴⁵ as I may have mentioned before; the studs are set in the ground and the sleepers nailed on to them the plates are nailed to the top of the studs and the rafters nailed on to them; the sides are covered with boards split in the same manner they used to split shingles for log houses, only longer; the roof is covered with long shingle¹⁴⁶ there being only one tier on each side. The part of the house built first is twelve by twenty eight with posts set for a partition making a kitchen of twelve feet square and a sitting room twelve by sixteen We have a fire place in our sitting room and a cook stove in the kitchen. We find the fire place quite a luxury during the rainy season, it gives sufficient heat and seems to chase away the damp better than a stove, and many a pleasant evening have we spent by the bright cheeful light of our red wood fire Mr Burrell, Birney and Martha reading aloud by turns in some news paper or entertaining story book while I knit and Clara played with her doll. There is an addition of eight feet in width runing the whole length of the house on the back side, this is to be divided into three bed rooms and a small pantry. it is enclosed but not yet divided we have a temporary floor in one end where we put Birneys bed. we have two beds in the sitting room, I find the iron bedsteads I brought from Boston a great convenience as they are much easier to pack and put up than wooden ones. Mr Burrell has made some preparations for

puting up a wood house store room and work shop, making our building some thirty six feet longer, this building is not up yet. Mr. Burrell with the help of Birney does, all the work himself even to the making of window sash, he has also made a good substantial kitchen table several benches, some stools for the children and a comfortable seat with a back to it. also a stand which is not quite finished, but I have laid my moulding board on for a leaf, (said board being about two feet square, and was split from a red wood tree) and I am now writing on it: the articles of furniture are the work of rainy days We have nice floors in our rooms made of split boards plained, they are as smooth and almost as tight as a matched floor You will see from my stragling description that our house is not log, neither is it exactly a framed house (for there is no framing about it) though it looks like one. People in this country do not generally plaster their walls, in the place of it they line their rooms with unbleached muslin or drilling, on the sides they put paper, and white wash the cloth over head; this when well done makes a cheap substantial wall, and is as good for this country as any other for we do not need to make much provision against the cold Our house in its unfinished state has been quite comfortable this winter, we hope however before another winter to have it all completed and a good pile of wood under shelter April 2nd I commenced this letter two weeks ago thinking I should finish it, in season to send by Mr Burrell, as he and Birney were going to the valley in a few days to drive up some hogs which we have taken of a man living there, to keep two years for half the increase; they drove up fifty two; we had taken ten before from Mr Sykes, Eliza,s husband these with one of our own make quite a respectable herd. I think at the end of two years, if they increase as this kind of stock usually do, there will be as many as we shall care to look after; the barrows are to be divided each year after harvest and the owner takes away his share those of a year old are now bringing eighteen dollars per head. If we are prospered I think we shall be able in the course of a year or two supply our selves with all the cows, and other stock we wish for. Eliza,s husband has quite a number of cows, and he lets us have the use of one this season. We feel grateful to Daniel and all our dear friends for their kind remembrance of us; we love to think while here alone that there are those who think of us, and take interest in our welfare. We have not as many books of the historical and descriptive character as I would like. We intend before long to send for some of the most interesting periodicals published in the eastern cities to supply their place Martha and Birney are very fond of reading. Eliza and her husband are here on a visit and will take this to the office on their way home You will excuse my not filling the sheet. I have not answered your question about cows Spanish cows can be purchased for fifty dollars American cows at from one to two hundred

The weather is very fine now, vegetation is growing rapidly Mr Burrell and Birney are very busy puting in corn, potatoes, beets, pumpkins, squashes, melons &C. We think this will be a fine place for raising fruit. Mr Burrell and

the children send much love to all the friends Eliza would be affectionately remembered

Yours with love CLARISSA BURRELL

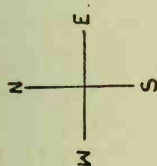
[Same to same]

Santa Clara Sept 6th 1854

Dear Brother & Sister

Your very interesting letter of June 14th has been on hand nearly two months. I should have written immediately only that I was very busy just then making, mending, and putting the house in order for the children to keep a few weeks, while I came down to the valley to stay with Eliza. I have been here almost six weeks. Eliza has fine healthy little daughters [*sic*] nearly three weeks old, she is able now to sit up most of the time, and walk about the house, and I expect to go home in a few days. Mr Sikes went up to our house two or three days ago, the family were quite well; he said that Martha made a first rate cook.

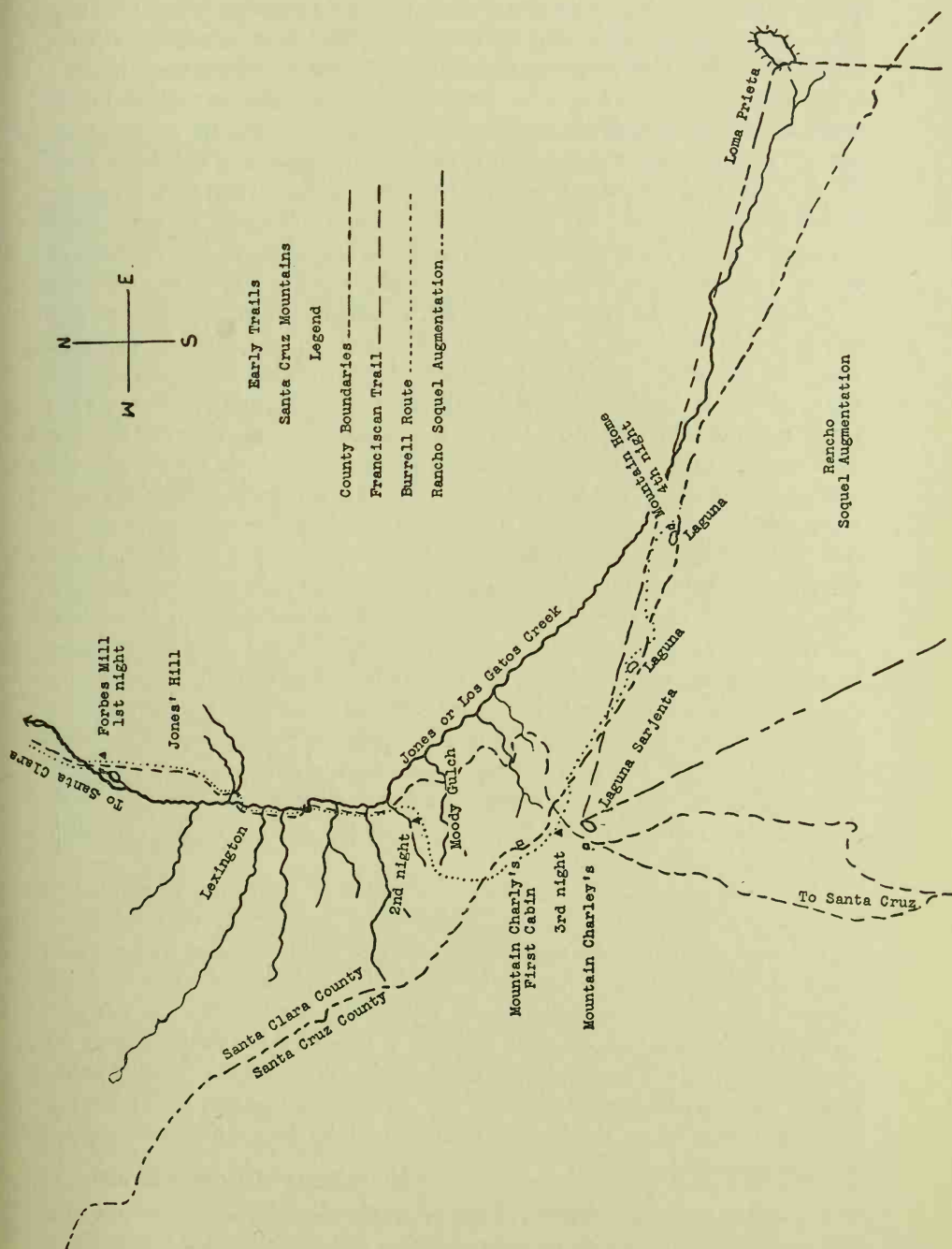
26th I had written thus far, when the babe cried and I was obliged to lay aside the pen, and have not found time to take it up again till now. Mr Sikes concluded to move on to a claim he owns in pardonship with his brother about a mile and a half from us, on the mountain So the day the little one was three weeks old, we all set off for the mountain home, bright and early, expecting to meet Mr Burrell and Martha at the foot of the mountain, agreeable to a previous arrangement that Martha should go down to the valley and stay a while with Eliza and I should ride home with Mr Burrell. Just as we had made a halt at the first ascent¹⁴⁷ we saw a cloud of dust arise from the mountain top, and soon Mr Burrell and Martha appeared in sight, descending towards us We had a very happy meeting, after going over with the most important events which had occurred during our separation we all seated our selves on a pile of boards under a spreading oak and partook of a cold lunch preparatory to ascending the mountain. We expected when we left the valley to be able to go all the way to our place with the waggon, by going around on the Santa Cruse road but there had been a great fire on the mountain and it had burned down a bridge over a deep ravine, so we were obliged to leave the waggon, pack what luggage we could on the horses and take our old trail up the canyon of the creek.¹⁴⁸ I took the babe on our slow sure footed Kate. Eliza rode their mule and Martha mounted one of the spirited waggon horses without either saddle or bridle, for we had but four saddles in the company and two were needed on the horses that packed to keep the packs from sliding off, going up and down the steep pitches as we cross and follow up the creek. Mr Burrell & Mr Sikes walked Mr S,s brother and another young man accompanied us on horse-back and assisted in halping a long the luggage and keeping the packs straight. Mr Sikes carried the babe in his arms over the roughest part of the road. We had quite a time of it, but we all arrived at *the home* before dark and with much less fatigue than one would imagine; indeed we were all quite well the next day, and I commenced washing and cleaning.



Early Trails
Santa Cruz Mountains

Legend

- County Boundaries -----
- Franciscan Trail -----
- Burrell Route
- Rancho Soquel Augmentation



I have now been at home a little more than two weeks and have my work pretty well caught up again though I always find a great plenty of mending to do. Last saturday afternoon Mr Burrell and Birney were making a fence along the father side of the garden a little before sundown they heard a great noise among the hogs that were feeding upon the carcase of a dead horse on the hill a short distance from them Mr B—— said he would go up the hill and see what was the disturbance he jumped over the fence with his ax in his hand and proceeded a few steps up the hill, when he was met by an old grizzly bear and her cub coming down at full speed, he brandished his ax at her, and shouted with all his might to frighten her, but they are an animal that never give even half the road, and it is not safe to wound them if you are within their reach, so Mr Burrell either in turning to let her pass fell or she in her haste to go knocked him over, it was done so quick he could not tell which, as his feet were towards her she gave him one snap with her teeth on the left limb just above the knee leaving one large hole on the lower side and two smaller ones on the upper side of it she then run three or four steps and turned to look at him, as she saw he did not follow her, she and her cub bounded off down the hill into the brush with all their might.¹⁴⁹ Mr Burrell was able to walk to the house though the wounds were among the cords and made him quite lame, and it was very painful for several hours the frequent application of cold water relieved the pain and they are now doing well, it is now tuesday and he is able to hobble about with a board for a crutch and has been smoothing off a stone for a hearth. We are in hopes he will get along without being laid by any length of time. Our crops have done much better up here than our fears led us to expect we have a good supply of wheat, corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, melons, tomatoes, potatoes, beets, &c, &c, also grape vines, peach trees, and apple trees, growing. We continue to like our place very much notwithstanding the wild beasts do continue to live here still, the bear did not kill any of the hogs for they all come home safe and sound.

I have run over my sheet and have not said at all the things I intended to say; many thanks to you for the particulars of Julia's¹⁵⁰ death. Dear Julia: like a sweet sun beam she smiled upon us, and smiling passed away. I was much surprised to hear of her death, for I had heard she was better, and like myself I hoped she was feeling quite well again; but it seems she has performed her mission here on earth and is now receiving her reward while we are left to toil a little longer. I hope my friends will excuse my want of punctuality about writing and not follow my example, or feel that I have lost my interest in those I love, this is a new country and the fingers find many things to do besides wield the pen

YOUR SISTER CLARISSA BURRELL

I would like very much if Mrs Fenn or brother Francis wife¹⁵¹ would send me a receipt or rather their process of cheese making, especally the management of the rennet how much they use and how they prepare it; it has been

so long since I made cheese that I have forgotten many things Much love to all the dear friends C B The children wish to be remembered to all the cousins Birney would like to see some thing more from Frank,s pen he is very busy now his pa is lame or he would write. Eliza is with us and sends her love

The Mountain Home Feb 25th 1855

Dear Brother & Sister

Your very welcome letter of Jan. 1st was received about six days since. I was feeling rather anxious for it had been a long time since we had heard from you I was sorry to hear that you had been suffering more than usual and that Amelia was sick I hope by this time you may both be feeling quite comfortable again. What a variety of changes have taken place in Tallmadge in the course of a few years; it seems to me but a little while since Mr Alpha Wright and his wife were young married people living in the same place they now do and his father and mother were living with them, *now, they* are the grand parents of a rising generation. I should love very much to visit the old place once more and see my dear brothers and sisters, nephews nieces, and old acquaintance; the children and I often talk about it and we think if we should ever happen to discover a gold mine we shall ceertainly go. I am happy to learn that Brother Francis is so comfortably situated I hope he will not have to work so hard now; and certainly he will have much less vexation. I have been suffering for a while, from a cold but think I am geting better now. We are all very busy now; we have taken between 140 & 50 head of cattle and calves to ranch for a man living in San Jose, about 70 are cows we are to take care of the stock and make the butter and cheese for two thirds of the profit they are not remarkably good cows for a dairy; we milk 28 now and make about 60 lbs of butter per week, the cows are coming in very fast and I suppose we shall soon commence cheese making, thank you very much for the receipt contained in your letter, it was just the information I wanted, The children are a very great help about milking, the little girles milk 5 cows apiece and when I am not well they milk six or seven and one time they milked ten. We have a hired man who assists about milking Mr Burrell not being able to milk on account of his hands being so much crippled; we expect to have the man make the cheese; he is from Ashtabula county Ohio, has made cheese there; and he made the butter and cheese from the cows we have last season, we pay him \$55, per month, we made about \$13, more than the man's wages the first month; we shall probably make more than double the quantity of butter this month but I do not know that we can get the same price for it, we have had \$.75 per pound, but the merchants said they did not generally pay but \$.50 but ours was very nice and we were sending quite a quantity at a time so they would like to keep it; cheese fetches from \$.50 to 37½ cents per pound. A few weeks ago I had a letter from our old neighbor in the valley, Mrs Clark, urging us to come and live near them, and offering us a

claim they had purchaced from some people who, wished to leave because there were no young people there, the claim has a house, a corral and a garden fenced in. The place is about forty miles from here Mr Burrell went over to see it; he says the land is better for gardening or crop raising than this but not any better grazing Mr Clark and his bachelor brother have each of them a claim besides the one they purchaced and that is liable to be squated on perhaps by people who will not be very agreeable neighbors, so they say, we are welcome to the place and the improvements if we will come, and they have as many cows as we are keeping here, which they say we may milk and make the butter and cheese for two thirds and they will take care of the calves and get up the cows for us. Mr Burrell told them if he could sell this place for a thousand dollars he did not know but we might accept their offer. The last time Mr Burrell was down in the valley he told Mr Quimley, the man of whom we have the cows that he would sell him his place for a \$1000, he seemed very much inclined to take him up, but said he could not make up his mind just then, but would let him know in course of a few weeks I suppose the next time Mr Burrell goes to take the butter to market we may find out. I do not feel very anxious to leave this place for I find myself considerably attached to it; its green hills, the spreading oaks the tall red wood, and the beautiful flowers look to me like mementoes of our Heavenly Father,s love. But we shall have very much the same surroundings where we think of going and the beautiful flowers those sweet smiles of our Heavenly Father will still be with us, to remind us of the great Giver of all good. I suppose if we can sell our improvements here, and take up another claim equally as good; and lay out the greater part of the proceeds of our place in stock, it will be better for us than to remain here, though it is something of a task to move in this mountainous region; however it does not thouble me any, for I always find my health improved by a jaunt over the mountains. As Mr Burrell,s business will call him to San Jose instead of Santa Clara you will please direct your letters to the former place and let us hear from you as often as may be

Your affectionate Sister CLARISSA BURRELL

P S Mr Burrell and the children send much love to all the dear friends

Dear Brother & Sister

The Mountain Home Dec 14th ,55

Your very interesting letter of May 22nd was received several months ago, when my hands were so fully occupied that I could not find time to take up the pen; and it is very apt to be the case with me if I am obliged to put off answering a letter a few weeks it will stay put off for months; and now I do not seem to have any thing to communicate which I think will be of interest to you. We live so secluded upon this mountain and have so little to do with the busy bustling world either politically or ecclisiasticaly that I am not able to say much about their doings in this

region The Methodist denomination I think are the most numerous here, they are divided into northern and southern divisions and hold their separate camp meetings. There is also quite a flourishing society of Cumberland Presbyterians who hold camp meetings occasionally. The Methodists have a college at Santa Clara¹⁵² which is in quite a prosperous condition. the Baptists have a school for girls¹⁵³ also at Santa Clara. We are thinking if we should be prospered another season we shall be able to send Birney and Martha to school. Miss Mary Atkins¹⁵⁴ a cousin of Mrs Marcia Ashmun is teaching a school for young ladies at Benicia I think I should prefer sending Martha there if we are able to do so. A few years schooling now will probably be as useful to the children, as it would have been to be confined in school ever since they were big enough to go. I think they will now know how to improve their time

We are at present quite alone on the mountain Eliza and her husband have gone back to their place in the valley or rather they have sold their old place and bought a better one, they think they can make money faster there than on the mountain and I do not doubt but they can. Mr Sikes owns a share in a thrashing machine which he makes quite profitable in the season for using it, they were quite well the last we heard from them. Mrs Wayland the widow lady who has lived up here occasionally died last summer and her sons have let their place to a young man who takes care of their stock; a man and his wife who lived about a mile from us in another direction moved away a few weeks ago; but their place is to be occupied by another family this week.

(To be concluded)

NOTES

95. Another clipper ship, under command of Capt. Edward Nickels, which made the trip from New York in 92 days and 4 hours and beat the *Westward Ho* on elapsed time. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

96. Capt. Edward Nickels, the captain of the *Flying Fish*. *Idem*.

97. Spear, second mate.

98. Wm. F. Herrick, one of the passengers on the *Westward Ho*. See note 80 above.

99. It was almost three months after the election.

100. Perhaps F. A. Atkinson, member of the Vigilance Committee of 1851.

101. Indian Valley, an important section of Plumas County, including Taylorville, Greenville, etc. Fariss & Smith, *Illustrated History of Plumas, Lassen and Sierra Counties* (San Francisco, 1882), pp. 295-311.

102. Mrs. Staples, also a passenger, who with Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Hamlin, were the three ladies mentioned by Clarissa.

103. "Dock" (?)

104. The *C. M. Weber*, a side wheeler of 144 tons, was built in 1851 and named for an

early merchant of San Jose who later became the founder of Stockton. Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle Wheel Days* (Stanford University Press, 1944), p. 135.

105. "From 1850 to 1861, Alviso enjoyed its greatest period of development. In 1865, the railroads began to divert trade." M. B. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California. Counties of the Coast Range* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1937), p. 465.

106. Birney was walking across the Rancho Rincón de los Esteros. In 1876, J. Guerrerro and R. Alviso lived along the route he traveled. (Thompson & West's historical atlas, as in note 83 above.)

107. Birney was now on the Ulistac Rancho granted originally to three Christianized Indians. Title was confirmed to Jacob D. Hoppe in 1857. In anticipation of favorable action, however, much of it had been sold by 1853. A part belonged to James Lick, at least 120 acres to Cary Peebels, and more went to E. Burrell and Wm. Hannibal shortly thereafter. (From records in possession of William B. Weston of San Jose.)

108. This was J. T. Clarke, the second husband of Mary Graves of the Donner party. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, p. 239. Mr. Weston (see note 107 above) identifies the Peebels' homesite as westerly from the present town of Agnew. It is probable that the Burrell potato patch was located on ground now occupied by the Agnew State Hospital.

109. The San Jon or Campbell Creek was a half mile west, and the Guadalupe River a mile east, of the Clarke home. (Thompson & West, as above.)

110. J. Quinn Thornton, *Oregon and California in 1848* (New York, 1849), pp. 95-246. This reference is interesting as showing what the pioneers read.

111. This may have been \$5. The entry in Birney's diary is almost illegible.

112. Probably his cousin, Howard Burrell, who lived in Ohio.

113. This was undoubtedly Clarissa's letter of Feb. 12, 1853.

114. The postmaster at Santa Clara on Aug. 1, 1853, was F. Cooper. (M. H. B. Boggs, *My Playhouse was a Concord Coach* (Oakland, 1942), p. 172.

115. For the description of another strawberry picnic see W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), pp. 187-88.

116. Alexander Combs Erkson, a pioneer of 1849, owned land adjoining James Lick on the north, which was less than a mile from the Clarke place. However, Mrs. Erkson's maiden name was Caroline Millard. Mrs. Welland may have been married twice. Munro-Fraser, as in note 83 above, pp. 709-11.

117. This was Robert F. Clarke, born in 1852, who later made his home in White River, Tulare County, Calif. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

118. This may have been the wife of Mr. Saunders who kept the Frémont House at Mountain View. The hotel was built by Palmer, Cook & Co. Mary J. Gates, *Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas* (San Jose, 1895), p. 19.

119. The place was old Mountain View. Richard Karr built a store there in the spring of 1852. It was managed by Jacob Shumway who named the place Mountain View. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

120. The party had reached San Antonio Creek which flows in a northerly direction from Los Altos, crossing El Camino Real a few miles west of Mountain View. Probably lunch was eaten near the site of present Alta Mesa Cemetery.

121. The route would seem to be along what is now called Arastradero Road.

122. This must have been in the Woodside-Searsville Lake-Portola area. The little valley bears the name, Cañada del Corte de Madera. It had one thing in common with Mountain Home—it was on or near the San Andreas fault line, with its numerous lagoons and pasture land.

123. At some place on the present Skyline Boulevard.

124. These were sea lions (*Zalophus Californianus*). There is still a rookery of sea lions on the island at Point Ano Nuevo. See Albert S. Evans, *A la California* (San Francisco, 1873), pp. 72-75.

125. It is difficult to determine the exact trip from Birney's description. After going over much of the area and talking with many pioneers and local historians, one is led to believe that the following route approximates the Burrells' journey: they camped the first night at the southerly end of the valley; ascended the mountain near the route of the present Alpine Road; then, from the summit, they continued on down to the ocean, following the hogback north of Pescadero Creek. The strawberry patch was and is along the coast somewhat south of the mouth of Pescadero Creek. Eliza W. Farnham, *California, Indoors and Out* (New York, 1856), pp. 213-47, gives an interesting account of a picnic trip from Santa Cruz to this same strawberry patch during the spring of 1853 or the previous year. The return trip of the Burrells may have been somewhat further north, along the ridge which parallels San Gregorio Creek and reaches the summit near where the old Portola road leads down to Searsville. This would be the night's camping place on the return trip. Assistance in the location of the route was received from Theodore J. Hoover, James Humphry, and Eric M. Alsford. Since the party had a wagon, the trip would be, of necessity, along the ridges or hogbacks, which were then chiefly free of underbrush due to the custom of annual burning. The canyons, along which most of the present roads run, were then impassable jungles. J. D. Whitney's Map of the Bay of San Francisco, 1867, shows many of these pioneer trails.

126. See Note 119.

127. This was Mountain Home, at the summit of the Santa Cruz Mountains, a few miles southeast of the Los Gatos-Santa Cruz highway.

128. The Charles McKiernan (Mountain Charley) house.

129. "Recollections . . .," as in note 12 above.

130. Six years later he discovered that his claim was a part of the Soquel Augmentation Rancho. For \$1000 cash and a note for \$500 he bought a $\frac{1}{27}$ part of the rancho which proved to be some 3500 acres. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 263; and "Recollections . . .," as above.

131. This may have been the home of Sebastian Peralta, one of the grantees of the Rancho Rinconada de los Gatos, whose adobe house formerly stood one hundred yards from Roberts Road near the bridge across Los Gatos Creek. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

132. Rough and unimproved as this early road appeared to Lyman Burrell, it was, nevertheless, an ancient trail, made first by the wild game in its passage from the Santa Clara Valley to the mountain fastnesses near Umunhum and Loma Prieta; then the Olhones used it in their trips from the valley to the coast; and, later still, it was adopted and renamed the Franciscan Trail by the padres in their journeys between the missions Santa Cruz and Santa Clara.

Although Burrell does not mention it, a settlement had been started in or near Lexington a few years earlier, and Zachariah (Buffalo) Jones had built one of the earliest saw-mills of the section. It was but natural that Jones should use this old trail to haul his lumber and fence posts to the market at San Jose and on to the embarcadero at Alviso for shipment to San Francisco.

Along this old trail, now rutted and deep with dust, the Burrells traveled on their way to Mountain Home. Up and over the grounds upon which Sacred Heart College now stands it led, and came down to Los Gatos Creek a short distance north of old Lexington. From Lexington it worked its way up the Los Gatos, until eventually it reached the ridge which led down to Santa Cruz. The Burrells did not follow it beyond Lexington. Months of hard work would have been required to get the wagons over this part of the route. Instead, they took a rough logging road which extended up the western hills to where the Evans family later lived. The camp for the second night was near present-day Idylwild. Next day they followed the hogback to the summit and then continued southeasterly, approximately along the present route of the summit road. The third night's stopping-place was in the vicinity of Charles McKiernan's first dwelling. (See note 128

above.) Later, he built a house on the shore of Laguna Sarjenta, less than a mile south of his original homesite. This is the lagoon which was found, subsequently, to mark not only the northeast corner of the great Soquel Augmentation Rancho but the same corner of the Burrells' own, later, ranch as well. McKiernan's second house burned many years ago; its foundation is perpetuated in the present structure. Over a large part of the yard a wisteria vine has run wild and has choked a number of walnut trees within its reach. It might be remarked here that one of the toll gates of the Santa Cruz turnpike, built along the old Franciscan trail, was located at McKiernan's; oak trees on both sides of the road show the scars.

On the fourth day, the Burrell party turned off toward the east and followed the ridge along which the present Mountain Charley road is built. They crossed the route of Highway 17 and continued on down the summit ridge to another lagoon where the Soquel road now branches off the old Santa Cruz highway. From here they broke their way for some three or four miles in a southeasterly direction, until they reached, at last, their Mountain Home.

Nevertheless, Burrell gives the credit for bringing the *first* wagon over the Santa Cruz Mountains to a woman, Mrs. Eliza W. Farnham. ("Recollections . . .," as above.)

133. Solon, Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

134. Sheffield, Ohio, the home of Clarissa's brother, Rev. James R. Wright.

135. Belle Prairie, Morrison County, Minn., where Clarissa's sister, Lucy, and her husband made their home.

136. It is interesting to compare the letter written by the Rev. Mr. Hanford with that of his sister-in-law, Clarissa; his is typical of the times.

137. Harriet Wright, Clarissa's elder sister, and her husband, the Rev. John Seward, who lived at Hudson, Ohio.

138. Polly Wright, Clarissa's eldest half-sister, and her husband, Dr. Daniel Upson.

139. This was Francis H. Wright, born Apr. 16, 1795. He married, first, on Sept. 18, 1823, Clarinda Fenn, who died Oct. 10, 1827, leaving a daughter, Eliza A. Wright, born Aug. 25, 1826; his second marriage was on May 21, 1829, to Eliza Fenn, who became the mother of Clarinda, born Apr. 15, 1830, and Harriet, born July 23, 1832. ("Wright Genealogical Chart.")

140. Probably the academy at Tallmadge which was organized by Clarissa's father.

141. The present Soquel highway crosses the lagoon near where the original Mountain Home was located. The balance of the pond has been filled as a part of the curing ground of a pipe factory.

142. The trail followed the Los Gatos canyon from Forbes' Mill to within a short distance of the place where Wrights Station was later located, then climbed up the west side of the canyon to Mountain Home.

143. At the mill of James Alexander Forbes, now Los Gatos.

144. Both Birney and Mr. Burrell recite this incident, but add little to Clarissa's account.

145. Mr. Burrell describes the preparation of the lumber: "... We camped out-of-doors, in company with another man who was building a house, about a mile from our location. We commenced by cutting down redwood trees, cutting them into proper lengths, and splitting them into bolts. We then hitched these bolts to the horse, and dragged them up to the spot where our house was to stand—which was near the place where Mr. Sear's house now stands. Here we split them into boards, and built the house. Even the window casings and sashes were made of split lumber. As soon as the outside and the roof were on, we slept in the house, without doors or windows." ("Recollections . . .")

146. Usually called shakes.

147. This was where the town of Los Gatos is now built. The road came down the

mountain side (Jones Hill), about a half mile east of Los Gatos Creek, through the grounds of Sacred Heart College.

148. Probably above where the old town of Lexington was located.

149. We have two other accounts of this bear fight. Of the actual encounter, Mr. Burrell writes in his "Recollections . . .": "... Seeing that a collision was inevitable, and that she would be upon me before I could get over the fence, or out of her way in the brush, I turned back and ran as fast as possible in the trail, with the bear and cub behind me. I soon came to a short turn in the trail, where I stumbled and fell flat on the ground, a little outside of the trail."

Birney relates the incident in a letter (without date but inserted in his diary) to the *Youths Cabinet*, a publication which began in Boston and New York in 1837 and ran, under varying fortune and name (*Woodworths Youths Cabinet*, *Merrys Museum and Parleys Magazine*, etc.), until 1851. (Library of Congress card.) As Birney describes the scene: "... What was to be done I knew the ferocious nature of the beast which was rendered doubly dangerous by their having young ones to protect. Pa had no chance to escape they would be on to him in an instant ah there they were. He raised his ax to strike at her as she advanced with her mouth wide open but before he could strike he was thrown down."

150. See note 94.

151. Clarissa's elder half-brother, Francis H. Wright, as in note 139 above.

152. This was the College of the Pacific, founded as the California Wesleyan University. It is the oldest incorporated educational institution in California, receiving its charter July 10, 1851. Its founder, the Rev. Isaac Owen, was affectionately known as "Father" Owen. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

153. The Santa Clara Female Seminary was established about 1851. The Baptist Association of Churches in its report for 1853 mentions that "during the year a flourishing school has been in progress at Santa Clara under the able management of Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton." *Ibid.*, p. 523.

154. "In that frontier town and early capital of California—Benicia—The Young Ladies' Seminary, forerunner of Mills College, came into being in 1852. . . . January, 1854, saw the management transferred to an Ohio school ma'am, Miss Mary Atkins, a graduate of Oberlin. . . ." Statement issued by department of public relations, Mills College.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BREWER, WILLIAM H.

Up and Down California in 1860-1864. Ed. by Francis P. Farquhar. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949. 583 p. illus. \$6.50.

BROWN, JOHN HENRY

Early Days of San Francisco, California. Oakland, Biobooks, 1949. 147 p. illus., map. \$10.00.

CALIFORNIA. DIVISION OF MINES

The Elephant As They Saw It; a Collection of Contemporary Pictures and Statements on Gold Mining. [Sacramento, State Printing Off., 1949] 128 p. illus. 75c.

COMAN, EDWIN T., and HELEN M. GIBBS

Time, Tide and Timber; A Century of Pope & Talbot. Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1949. xvi, 480 p. illus. \$5.00.

DRURY, AUBREY

How to Retire to California. New York, Harper & Brothers, c1950. 194 p. Map on end sheets. \$2.50.

FLEMING, HOWARD

... Narrow Gauge Railways in America. Ed. by Grahame Hardy and Paul Darrell. Foreword by Lucius Beebe. Including a list of narrow gauge railways in America, 1871 to 1949, compiled by Brian Thompson. Oakland, Grahame H. Hardy, 1949. 101 p. illus. \$5.00.

JOHNSTON, JAMES A.

Alcatraz Island Prison and the Men Who Live There. New York, Scribner, 1949. v, 276 p. \$3.50.

LAYNE, J. GREGG

Books of the Los Angeles District. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1950. 61 p. \$5.00.

LENGYELL, CORNELL, comp.

Hangtown Ballads. Georgetown, The Forty-Niner, 1949. \$1.00.

MCGLOIN, JOHN BERNARD, S.J.

Eloquent Indian, The Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit. Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, c1949. xvii, 380 p. illus. \$5.00.

McWILLIAMS, CAREY

California, the Great Exception. New York, A. A. Wyn, 1949. xiii, 377 p. \$4.00.

MANLY, WILLIAM L.

The Jayhawker's Oath and Other Sketches. Selected and edited by Arthur Woodward. Los Angeles, Warren F. Lewis, 1949. xiv, 168 p. illus., ports., map. \$6.00.

MILLER, MAY MERRILL

Mother Lode, 1849-1949. Culver City, Murray & Gee, 1949. 32 p. \$2.00. [Poetry]

PADEN, IRENE D.

Prairie Schooner Detours. New York, Macmillan, 1949. ix, 295 p. illus., maps. \$3.75.

REDINGER, DAVID H.

The Story of Big Creek. Los Angeles, Angelus Press, 1949. xvi, 182 p.

ROUNCE & COFFIN CLUB

Catalog of Western Books. Los Angeles, Plantin Press, 1949. 26 p. 25c from H. Richard Archer, 2205 West Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 7.

RYDER, DAVID WARREN

A Century of Hardware and Steel, Being the Story of Baker & Hamilton. San Francisco, Historical Publications, 1949. xi, 119 p. illus.

The First Hundred Years, Being the Highlighted History of the First and Oldest Wholesale Drug House in the West. [San Francisco] Coffin-Redington Co. [1949] 40 p. illus., ports.

STANGER, FRANK M., ed.

Off For California; The Letters, Log, and Sketches of William H. Dougal, Gold Rush Artist. Oakland, Biobooks, 1949. vi, 62 p. illus. \$12.50.

WHEAT, CARL I.

The First One Hundred Years of Yankee California. Address at the Opening of the Library of Congress California Centennial Exhibit, November 12, 1949. Washington, D. C., Library of Congress [1949] 24 p. illus. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. \$1.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

November 1, 1949, to January 31, 1950

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From BAKER & HAMILTON—Ryder, David Warren. *A Century of Hardware and Steel, being the Story of Baker & Hamilton*. San Francisco, Historical Publications, 1949.

From BINFORDS & MORT—Becker, Ethel Anderson, *Klondike '98; Hegg's Album of the 1898 Alaska Gold Rush*, Portland, Binfords & Mort, c1949; Tobie, Harvey Elmer, *No Man Like Joe; The Life and Times of Joseph L. Meek*, Portland, Binfords & Mort, c1949.

From MR. JACOB BLANCK—Facsimile of *The Heathen Chinees*, by Bret Harte. Illus. by Joseph Hull. Chicago, Western News Co., 1870.

From MR. THOMAS P. BROWN—*California Names, Their History and Meaning*. [San Francisco] American Trust Company, 1949.

From CALIFORNIA LODGE NO. 1, F. & A. M.—Mott, Ralph Ernest. *The Centennials*. [San Francisco] California Lodge No. 1, F. & A. M. [1949]

From THE FAMILY OF WALTER CLARK—Brooks, Aubrey Lee and Hugh Talmage Lefler, eds. *The Papers of Walter Clark*. Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, c1948.

From COFFIN-REDINGTON CO.—Ryder, David Warren. *The First Hundred Years, Being the Highlighted History of the First & Oldest Wholesale Drug House in the West*. [San Francisco] Coffin-Redington Co., 1949.

From THOMAS Y. CROWELL CO.—Lewis, Oscar. *California Heritage*. New York, T. Y. Crowell, c1949.

From MR. AUBREY DRURY—His: *How to Retire to California*. New York, Harper & Brothers, c1950.

From MR. CARL F. HAAS—*Safe Service*. San Francisco, The Hermann Safe Co., 1949.

From MRS. FRANKLIN HITTELL and MR. ELGIN HITTELL—Waugh, Lorenzo. *Autobiography*, San Francisco, Francis, Valentine & Co., 1888; Waugh, Lorenzo, *Constitution of the California Youth's Association*. San Francisco, Agnew & Deffebach, 1863.

From MRS. EMMA KESSLER—Herringshaw, Thomas William, *Herringshaw's Encyclopedia of American Biography of the Nineteenth Century*, Chicago, American Pub-

lisher's Association, 1901; Barrett, John, *Panama Canal, What it is, What it Means*, Washington, D. C., Pan American Union, 1913; Halstead, Murat, *Life . . . of Hon. Wm. McKinley* [n.p.] Edgewood Pub. Co., 1896; Bucyrus Company, *Message of The President on the Panama Canal*, South Milwaukee, The Company, 1907; Collection of photographs.

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MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. NATHANIEL BLAISDELL—*Blaisdell Papers*, v. 3, no. 8, November 1949.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER—*Madroño, a West American Journal of Botany*, v. 1, no. 17; v. 2, no. 1-v. 6, no. 3, 5-v. 8, no. 6, 8; v. 10, no. 2, 4, December 1929-October 1949. [Journal of the California Botanical Society]

From MR. F. HAL HIGGINS—His: "From 'Mormon Board' to Modern Bulldozer" in *The Western Farm Life*, v. 52, no. 1, January 1, 1950.

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From GEORGE H. KRESS, M.D.—*Los Angeles Times*, Midwinter Edition, January 3, 1950.

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From MR. O. P. STIDGER—His: "Has the Youth of 1949 Lost the Pioneer's Spirit of 1849?" in *The Recorder*, Dec. 5, 1949.

From MR. R. W. G. VAIL—His: "Bibliographical Notes on Certain Eastern Mining Companies of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1850." From the *Papers of The Bibliographical Society of America*, v. 43, no. 3, 1949.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—*The Argonaut*, v. 128, no. 3746, August 26, 1949; *The Mark Hopkins Institute Review of Art*, v. 1, no. 6, December 1902.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN—Ledger of Jones & Franklin Mills (later Humboldt Mill), 1856-1862.

From MR. KENNETH E. CROUCH—His manuscript entitled "The State Songs of California."

From MRS. FRANKLIN HITTELL and MR. ELGIN HITTELL—Letters from Lorenzo Waugh written to Theodore H. Hittell, dated April 21, 1867, Sept. 9, Oct. 26, Dec. 9, 1872, Jan. 25, 1873, and Jan. 5, 1877.

From MRS. SAMUEL A. MEGEATH—Copy of letter written by James Gabriel Megeath from Calaveras River, May 20, 1853.

From MRS. CLARA A. NEALON—Collection of 105 manuscript letters, receipts written from mining towns, chiefly to Gen. J. F. Miller and Charles F. Irwin.

From MRS. VIOLA M. PRIEST—Manuscript letters from which was written *Crossing the Plains in 1852, Narrative of a Trip from Iowa to "The Land of Gold,"* as told in letters by Lucy Rutledge Cooke written during the Journey; Marriage certificate of Alden Rackliff and Elizabeth Gross, Jan. 9, 1858; Personal account books of Viola R. Cooke, 1889, 1892, 1897; Scrapbook of Viola R. Cooke.

From MRS. CLARENCE SHUEY—Bill of the Masonic Cemetery Association, Feb. 26, 1868.

From MRS. G. O. WILSON—Minutes and records of Presbyterian Hospitality House and Servicemen's Hotel, San Francisco, 1941-1946.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. FLORENCE DOYLE GABBERT, MISS MARJORIE DOYLE, MRS. CHARLES L. DIMMLER—A collection of nineteen photographs of the Kuchel and Bergson families.

From MRS. FRANKLIN HITTELL and MR. ELGIN HITTELL—Portrait in oils of Lorenzo Waugh painted by Carlos Hittell.

From MISS BETTY KAHN—Collection of several copies of drawings for Coast and Geodetic Survey maps and charts of San Francisco Bay and coastline of the vicinity.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Deeds, papers, and photographs of the Mailliard family.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. F. L. BECK—Photograph, souvenir fan, and invitation issued to Miss Bessie Fitch "Palace" Bedell for a Ball given at the Palace Hotel December 28, 1878. "Palace" was born at the hotel on December 21, 1878.

From MR. R. R. EMPARAN—Calling card of Gen. M. G. Vallejo.

From MR. WILLIAM KENT, JR.—Collection of brochures and photographs of the Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Railroad.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Collection of Musical programs, San Francisco through the 1920's.

From MISS ELEANOR McCLATCHY—Souvenir program of the Centennial Play Festival, Eaglet Theater, October 18 through October 29, 1949.

From MISS SARAH SINCLAIR—Hand gold scale in wooden case with weights, and gold nugget.

From COL. ROBERT S. SMILIE—Iron bolt from Mission San Antonio.

From STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA—Twenty-four ribbons awarded to The Standard Oil Company at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

From MR. WYLAND STANLEY—Collection of sheet music published in San Francisco.

From MRS. FRANCES WATERS—Letterhead from the Syndicate Bank, Emeryville, California.

From THE WINE INSTITUTE—Collection of pamphlets, reports, articles, statistics, and awards relating to the wine industry of California.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

For the Year Ending December 31, 1949

The California Historical Society looks back upon a full year of accomplishment, and forward toward a year which, it is hoped, will be the most noteworthy in the Society's career. Additional significance was given to our undertakings in 1949 because of centennial observances connected not only with memories of the great gold rush of 1849, but also with the political organization of California in that momentous year. During 1950 we celebrate 100 years of statehood.

Directors elected at the annual meeting on January 28, 1949, were K. K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Anson S. Blake, Allen L. Chickering, Ralph H. Cross, Aubrey Drury, Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Joseph R. Knowland, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter, Porter Sesnon, and Mrs. Daniel Volkmann. Officers elected at the first meeting of the Board following the annual meeting were Aubrey Drury, president; Joseph R. Knowland, 1st vice-president; Morton R. Gibbons, M.D., 2d vice-president; Francis P. Farquhar, 3d vice-president; Warren R. Howell, secretary; and George L. Harding, treasurer. The California Historical Society suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Gibbons on November 8, 1949.

The Board of Directors held eleven meetings during the year. As is customary, they held no meeting in July.

Luncheon meetings took place in each month of 1949 except July and August. Two were held away from San Francisco, our usual place: one in September, honoring Monterey on the occasion of the centennial of the constitutional convention held in that town in 1849; and one in December, held in San Jose in honor of the convening there a century ago of the first legislature. Speakers and their subjects were:

January 28: John Bruce, "Gaudy Century."

February 10: Jackson Burke, "Private Presses of California."

March 10: Dr. Erwin Gudde, "California Place Names."

April 14: Francis P. Farquhar, "Literature of Yosemite, the Big Trees and the Sierra."

May 12: Hon. Joseph R. Knowland, "Historic Columbia and the California Centennials."

June 9: Dr. Charles L. Camp, "Gold Days in California, Australia and Africa."

September 9: Thomas W. Norris, "The California Constitutional Convention of 1849 and the Men Who Made the Constitution."

October 13: H. M. Butterfield, "Pioneer Builders of California's Horticulture."

November 10: Col. Waddell F. Smith, "The Eastern End of the Pony Express."

December 10: Hon. Herbert C. Jones, "California's First Legislature."

The thanks of the California Historical Society have been extended to these distinguished speakers for their assistance in making the meetings so successful.

The membership of the Society, now the greatest in its history, increased by a net of 77 members, of whom one was a new patron and 18 were new

sustaining members. The year closed with a total membership of 1522, eleven additional having been elected in December effective January 1, 1950. This total is double the enrollment at the close of the war. However, supported, as the Society is, only by the dues of its members and by voluntary contributions, it is important that the membership continue the growth already so well under way. Our aim is to attain a total of at least 2000 members by the next annual meeting.

The Directors hope that during 1950 endowment gifts will be made to the Society, to upbuild further its financial background and provide adequately for the future. The hope is held, too, that the Society will be mentioned as a beneficiary in wills which are being drawn.

The California Historical Society QUARTERLY has been maintained at its high standard of excellence. Containing original and authoritative articles, embodying much research, it has from its inception won recognition as a valuable publication in its field. In all, our illustrated QUARTERLY presents approximately 400 pages of historical material every year.

The first volume of NOTES from the California Historical Society was completed, ten numbers being issued. Publication of the NOTES was made possible by elimination of the postcard notices of luncheon meetings, the information being carried in the NOTES. Therefore none was issued in July or August, since no meetings were held in those months. In the opinion of your President, publication of the NOTES has been an invaluable factor in keeping members informed of the work of the Society and its objectives, and of developments in the field of California and western history.

Two of our special publications, *Lances at San Pascual*, by Arthur Woodward, and the *Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman*, edited by Irene D. Paden, were given awards of merit, with respect to book design and production, by the Rounce and Coffin Club of Los Angeles and were included in their exhibition of western books. The special publications issued by the Society, together with the QUARTERLY, the NOTES, and the list of members (revised and issued from time to time) are printed at the Westgate Press, Oakland, under the direction of Lawton and Alfred Kennedy.

Equipment in the form of new shelving and storage space in the basement at our headquarters and the addition of a semi-automatic addressograph machine were made possible through the planning of the librarian and the generosity of Mr. Ralph H. Cross. The shelving has relieved the situation for a few months, but more space will soon be needed. Volunteer help has been useful and efficient, the staff being particularly grateful to Mrs. Fred Achuff, Mrs. Lawton Kennedy and Mr. James Abajian, who have been generous with their time and skill.

Sixteen authors have presented copies of their books published in 1949 in which the help of the library and staff of the California Historical Society has been acknowledged.

Correspondence increased greatly during the year. Exclusive of those sent in a membership drive during December, 3600 letters and acknowledgments of gifts were dispatched to individuals and organizations.

Committee activity, an important part of the Society's work, has continued and has brought about especially commendable results. To the chairmen and members of our standing committees—the editorial advisory committee, and the committees on special publications, membership and publicity, luncheon meetings, rooms and exhibits, historic names and sites, library and gifts, and on finance—we express grateful appreciation.

During the year, the Society, through its committees and the membership in general, cooperated with various organizations in furthering centennial activities. Undoubtedly because of interest in these events, many local historical societies have been organized or "reactivated." Advice and help in such matters have been given to all. Most important in bringing the Society's name before the public was participation in the exhibits of the California Centennial Caravan, and in the other exhibits mentioned in the Librarian's report, below. It is a pleasure to call the members' special attention to our record, noted there, in connection with the California art centennial, held in Los Angeles in the fall.

Nineteen forty-nine has been a memorable year for the historically minded. The Society believes that the celebrations of 1950 will be the source of as much interest in the past as those just over, and possibly, also, of wisdom for the future.

January 27, 1950

AUBREY DRURY

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR 1949

The centennials have emphasized the value of the Society's library, and in consequence of the marked increase and variety of recent acquisitions, a committee was appointed by the Board to assign relative values to the different categories making up the collection and to determine what direction future growth should be allowed to take. When this study is completed and the report approved, specific plans for activities, services, and equipment can be made. Before taking up the report for 1949, it should be explained that no recent quantitative record of the library's activities has been undertaken; therefore no parallel set of statistics is at hand for comparison with those that follow.

In the past year, the library staff has continued its services to members, students, advanced scholars, authors, and, because of the centennial, to business firms, curiosity seekers, and tourists. The register has been signed by 1527 visitors. This figure, however, represents only about one-third of the total number of visitors to Pioneer Hall, since groups, such as clubs and school children, and many individuals do not sign the register.

Generally speaking, the greatest proportion of reference work was done for members. Written requests for information were received from 205 non-members. The time required for doing the research on these queries varied from ten minutes to several hours, and in most cases, the queries were either partially or fully answered. In addition there were many telephone queries of which no count was made.

Many valuable gifts, all of which have been acknowledged, were made to the library and museum by 269 generous members and friends. The largest gift to the library was a grant of \$2500 from the estate of May T. Morrison for the purchase of books. From this fund the library has purchased 42 county histories, directories, and other basic reference works. The balance remaining in the fund will be spent for out-of-print books, of the same type, as they become available.

The library has also accessioned 481 books, manuscripts, and pamphlets. Of these, 212 have been cataloged and processed for use. These 212 titles represent 1360 cards added to the catalog, of which 285 were printed cards and 1075 were typewritten. Miscellaneous pieces such as deeds, receipts, paintings, photographs, etc., accessioned, amounted to 307. Several hundred programs, clippings and centennial souvenirs have been added but not accessioned separately. The museum was enriched by the addition of 37 major objects and several hundred lesser items, all of which have been cataloged and processed for storage or display. The file of negatives for pictures in the Society's collection (which have been used for illustration in many types of publications) increased by 191. These, too, have been cataloged and processed for storage. Current numbers of 74 periodicals were received in 1949.

The newspaper collection has obtained added importance through the addition of specimens of 167 California papers for the period 1860-1890, and by the completion of a catalog of the library's newspaper holdings.

Several special projects have been in progress during the year. A cumulative index (begun in 1940) to the *QUARTERLY* was completed in July. Gradual revision is being made in preparation for its future publication; in the meantime, it serves as an invaluable reference tool for use in the library.

The Society profited by the volunteer services of several persons, among them a trained print cataloger. Of the fine collection of lithographs, 124 have been identified, analyzed, and cataloged. This project will continue until all the Society's pictorial resources are indexed.

A collection of 56 oil paintings, water colors, sketches and lithographs, illustrative of the history of California, was assembled and prepared for loan to the Los Angeles County Museum for its California Centennials Exhibition of Art. More of the examples shown in the historical section were selected from the Society's collection than from any other participating organization.

Throughout the course of the year, 15 exhibits were arranged for the enjoyment of visitors to the Society's rooms. Another display, designed for the instruction of school children, formed part of an exhibition set up in the San Francisco Centennial Theater Building in historic Portsmouth Plaza. Other materials from the collection were exhibited, on loan, at Macy's, the White House, and at the San Francisco public library in its showing of items related to Father Junípero Serra and his work. Details of these exhibits may be found in the Society's monthly *NOTES*.

In preparation for the February 1949 auction by mail, duplicate books and materials from the Wiltsee Collection were checked against the Society's holdings, sorted and assembled. Finally to be mentioned in the work of this department is the compiling of the list of donors and their gifts, and a selective list of recently published Californiana, which appear in each issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

January 27, 1950

VIRGINIA PARKER

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1949 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

BALANCE SHEET
As at December 31, 1949

ASSETS*			
Cash—Commercial Account	\$ 4,407.34		
Savings Account	2,397.24		
Office Revolving Fund	20.00	\$ 6,824.58	
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U. S. Savings Bonds, G		1,100.00	
Accounts receivable			
General Fund	\$ 51.52		
Publication Fund	26.93	78.45	
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Inventory of Publications		3,325.55	
Prepaid Insurance		243.71	
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Total Assets		\$11,572.29	
LIABILITIES			
Accounts Payable—General Fund	\$ 18.16		
Sales Tax Payable—State	\$ 20.16		
City59	20.75	
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Withholding Tax Payable		307.20	
Contributions Reserved for Special Purposes		1,723.38	
Dues Collected in Advance		784.50	
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		\$ 2,853.99	
FUNDS			
General Fund	\$ 252.43		
Publication Fund	6,026.93		
Library Fund	1,338.94		
Cavalier Memorial Fund	1,100.00	8,718.30	
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Total Liabilities and Funds		\$11,572.29	

*NOTE: Library collections and furniture and fixtures are not valued on the books.

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1949

Receipts

Dues—Active Members	\$12,135.00		
Sustaining Members	3,825.00		
Patron Members	2,700.00	\$18,660.00	
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Contributions			
General	\$ 2,680.53		
Special Purposes	2,044.46	4,724.99	
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News of the Society

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Sales of QUARTERLY	661.20
Sales of Prints	372.50
Interest on Savings Account	22.50
Miscellaneous Revenues	126.22
Total Receipts	\$24,567.41
Less—Expenditures	
Operating Expenses	
Salaries	\$10,994.17
Rent	2,400.00
Telephone	191.36
Office Supplies	358.38
Postage and Express	150.67
Furniture and Equipment	485.60
Insurance	180.84
Library Expenses	356.74
Miscellaneous	1,270.96
Membership and Publicity	388.00
Exhibit Expenses	5.17
Luncheon Expenses	280.14
QUARTERLY Publication Costs	6,336.50
"Notes" Publication Costs	849.72
Total Expenditures	\$24,248.25
Excess of Receipts Over Expenditures	\$ 319.16
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	(66.73)
Fund Balance at End of Year	\$ 252.43

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1949

Sales of Publications	\$ 446.20
Less—Cost of Sales	
Beginning Inventory	\$ 3,586.50
Purchases	
Less—Ending Inventory	3,325.55
Gross Profit from Sales	\$ 185.25
Less—Selling Expense	16.94
Net Profit from Sales	168.31
Interest on Savings Account	19.04
Net Gain to Fund	\$ 187.35
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	5,839.58
Fund Balance at End of Year	\$ 6,026.93

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1949

Receipts

Sale of Duplicate Books	\$ 35.00
Contributions	1,232.57
Interest on Savings Account	4.76

Total Receipts	\$ 1,272.33
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Less—Expenditures

Purchases	\$ 986.62
Shelving	
Miscellaneous	

Total Expenditures	986.62
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Net Increase (Decrease) in Fund	\$ 285.71
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Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	1,053.23
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Fund Balance at End of Year	\$ 1,338.94
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CAVALIER MEMORIAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

Contributions	
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year	\$ 1,100.00

Fund Balance at End of Year	\$ 1,100.00
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Meetings

Speaker: WADDELL F. SMITH

At the luncheon meeting of the Society on November tenth of last year, Col. Waddell F. Smith (retired, U. S. air force) gave an account of the exhilarating but brief career of the Pony Express. Colonel Smith is a great-grandson of W. B. Waddell, member of the firm which started the ponies on their Pegasus-like way. He has therefore a descendant's feeling of responsibility in seeing that the history of his forebear's work is accurate. At the editors' request he has prepared the following condensed version of his address.

Prior to the founding of the Pony Express, attempts had been made by Maj. George Chorpennig, Jr., Col. Samuel H. Woodson, and others to carry the mails across the so-called "Great American Desert," either between California and Salt Lake or between the latter and Independence, Missouri; but concerted improvement in efficiency along the whole route was lacking. Meanwhile, waves of immigrants bound for the west coast were increasing the population to such an unpredictable extent that U. S. army authorities were prompted to take measures to insure their safety, through establishment of more frontier posts. The firm that held the freighting contract to supply these outposts from the Missouri River was Russell, Majors and Waddell, who, to meet the demands of their contracts, had to get together an enormous amount of equipment and supplies.

Senator W. M. Gwin, while traveling overland to Missouri and thence to Washington, D. C., is credited with having conceived the idea of the Pony Express and with having proposed it to William H. Russell, a member of the above freighting firm, when the senator and Russell met at the capital. He argued that Russell, Majors and Waddell, with their investment in stations, wagons and men, strung along the interior of the continent, were the logical ones to accomplish such a feat. It could be done by filling in with additional way-stations, about ten miles apart, then buying the fastest blooded horses obtainable, each to be ridden at break-neck speed for a distance of not more than ten miles or so. The daring rider would then leap from his mount, strip the mochila (in the locked pockets of which the mail was to be stored) from his saddle, and, flinging it and himself on an already saddled and waiting mount, he was to be off in a cloud of dust, cobble stones, or whatever might be under foot. With this constant relay of horse flesh and stalwart youth, the mail could be got through from the end of the railroad at St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, and vice versa, with a speed unfamiliar to former means of travel.

Russell was enthusiastic about the idea, especially when Senator Gwin intimated that the seeds of possible division within California, as between the

North and the South, might be rendered impotent by fast mail communication east and west. Gwin promised legislation to authorize a subsidy, if Russell's firm would immediately undertake the project. Without consulting his two equal partners, Russell gave his oral word that the desired "Pony Express" would be organized. He then hurried back to the Missouri River and told Majors and Waddell what he had done. They vetoed the idea, feeling that the project could not possibly be made to pay, and the promise of a subsidy, from a government about to be embroiled in a Civil War, was too uncertain. Russell then explained that his oral word had been given in Washington; that his word bound his partners. The force of this statement was recognized by Majors and Waddell. Without delay they directed their efforts to the placing of additional stations along the route, and buyers were dispatched to comb the country for the fastest horses in the market and to search out athletic youths who could ride them.

On April 3, 1860, the first Pony Express rider, with the cheers of well-wishers in his ears, dashed away from the still-existing Pony Express barns at Patee Park, St. Joseph. The mail was on its way to Sacramento. On the same day, an east-bound counterpart was to leave Sacramento. But San Franciscans and the Pony Express officials felt that the event was worthy of a grand send-off from the bay region; consequently the first scheduled departure, on April third, originated there, with the hardy pony going only from the Alta Telegraph Company's office (later the Western Union) to the San Francisco water-front, where the mail was placed (unofficially, because not in the contract) on a steamer bound for Sacramento. It arrived at the capital between two and three in the morning. Through the rainy dawn of April 4, 1860, the mail was then sped on its way toward Placerville. The dream of spanning the forbidding interior of the continent in ten days was in process of coming true, with the ponies, traveling both ways, their mail pockets full of national news, being looked to, to keep the people in the west informed and thereby bolstering up their loyalty to the Union.

For a time, Piute uprisings along the route delayed the ponies. The army, temporarily at a disadvantage, asked Russell, Majors and Waddell to bring to bear their own resources in helping to end the Indian troubles. Early in the summer of 1861 came reorganization, made necessary by a combination of additional circumstances, beginning with the fall of Fort Sumter on April fourteenth. The Confederates had, thereupon, cut the southern mail line to California, which John Butterfield of the American Express (one of the companies, including the National, Adams, and Wells Fargo, who had pooled their interests to form a company) was operating under the designation "Overland Mail" via El Paso, Texas. The double interference with the mails—by the Piutes west of Salt Lake along the ponies' central route, and by the Confederates' cutting of the Butterfield line through El Paso—made it apparent that something had to be done. It took the form of a transference

of Butterfield's resources to the western half of the Pony Express route, viz., between Salt Lake and Sacramento, while Russell, Majors and Waddell continued to operate the eastern portion as far as St. Joseph. This arrangement enabled the reorganized Pony Express to resume operations on July 1, 1861, and it continued to run between the constantly approaching wireheads of the transcontinental telegraph until the latter's completion on October 24 of the same year. Two days later, when all the ponies were in, the mechanical click of the telegraph replaced the live, melodious hoof beats of the ponies.

The lack of a subsidy from a government with a civil war on its hands, as foreseen by Russell's partners, and that government's failure to reimburse the company for its outlay and losses in the Piute war, were the main causes for the collapse of Russell, Majors and Waddell. It has been estimated that, just to break even, the firm should have had sixteen dollars for every dollar of postal revenue taken in; but to the unappraisable credit of these men, at least to Majors and Waddell, is their creation of the Pony Express, to keep an oral promise, in the face of *expected* failure.

Following the close of the Pony Express on October 24, 1861, the old line of Russell, Majors and Waddell was sold at a public sale in Leavenworth, Kansas, on March 7, 1862, to satisfy a mortgage held by Benjamin Holladay who himself bid the property in, that date marking the exodus of Russell, Majors and Waddell from the scene. In November 1866, Holladay sold the equipment to the Wells Fargo Express Company, a transaction which represented the latter's first connection with the long extinct Pony Express.

Colonel Smith, now a resident of San Rafael, concluded by saying that his present ambition is to ride the first pony out on April 3, 1960, in the re-running and hundredth anniversary of the Pony Express. He also called his listeners' attention to a recent authoritative book (published by Stanford Univ. Press), *Empire on Wheels*, by R. W. and Mary Lund Settle. They base their account on the complete files of the company, turned over to them for study by Colonel Smith's Aunt Kate (Mrs. William Bradford Waddell, II), who had in turn received them from Robert Fielding Waddell, son of W. B. Waddell of the original firm. These documents are now in the Huntington collection at San Marino, California.

Speaker: HERBERT C. JONES

The luncheon meeting held in Hotel Sainte Claire, San Jose, on December 10, 1949, was made prominent, politically, by the occasion which it celebrated and by the careers, representative of civil government, of former U. S. Congressman Joseph R. Knowland, who introduced the speaker, and of the speaker, himself—former State Senator Herbert C. Jones. It was, in consequence, fully covered by the press (see especially the *San Jose Mercury-Herald* for Dec. 11, 1949). The oration was also issued as a pamphlet

by the state printer and can thus be consulted in convenient form. One remembers the difficulties under which the first legislature of California, the object of the day's celebration, operated: the members had lots of rain, but no ink; lots of adobe mud but no writing tablets; they had no treasury, but a lot of gold was glistening and beckoning in the native gravels; they had lots of youthfulness, lots of optimism (enough to surmount the extreme physical discomfort of their surroundings), but no legislative experience, beyond a general predilection for the English common law in contradistinction to Roman civil law; they had no basis in legality—no assurance of impending statehood—for their creative zeal; but they had a gnawing hunger for order. And to satisfy it, the sixteen senators and thirty-six assemblymen had to do a number of things. As stated by Senator Jones, these men "had to 'start from scratch.' They had to set up an entirely new state government. They had to specify the duties of the various state officers. They had to set up a system of courts. They had to enact codes and statutes defining the rights of persons and of property, and defining crimes. They had to enact codes establishing the procedure in civil and criminal courts. They had to deal with the conflict between the mining interests on the one hand, and the agricultural and commercial interests on the other. They had to provide aid for immigrant roads. They had to defend the state's borders from Indian attacks." How, in the speaker's opinion, these demands were met between December 17, 1849, and April 22, 1850, may be read in the transcript of his speech, on file at the Society's headquarters. It might be added that, included in their labors, were the naming of two U. S. senators, J. C. Frémont and W. M. Gwin, and the division of the state into counties, a task that resulted in a classic report issued by the special committee in charge of the work, Gen. M. G. Vallejo, chairman. [If it had been finished and set in type in time, it could have taken its place among other volumes given to a then-in-the-air state library: the *Bible*, Mier's *Expedition*, Dana's *Mineralogy*, Frémont's *Geographical Memoir* and map, the *Natural History of the State of New York*, and reports upon the common schools and agriculture of that state—a reminder that former citizens of the Empire State were numerically predominant over those from other states in the first legislature.] In closing, Senator Jones warned his hearers against the laxity, the what's-the-use attitude of a large part of the public toward the processes of government (*their* government). He cited an instance where a supposedly enlightened community in the east-bay area, which had much to lose by enactment of policies favored by a certain candidate for office, sent only ten percent of its voters to the polls. "... today," said Senator Jones, "if we would honor the first legislature, the best way is to safeguard and strengthen this institution of representative government."

Speaker: DIXON WECTER

An extremely difficult situation is faced by this reviewer. After the officers had made their reports at the annual meeting on January 27, 1950, members and their friends were introduced to the speaker-of-the-day, Dixon Wecter, professor of history at the University of California, whose subject was Mark Twain. As this reviewer stood, afterwards, waiting for the elevator, along came two who had been in the audience. "What's he written?" one asked the other. "Who—Twain?" "No, silly—Wecter, of course." And that expresses the difficulty referred to above, viz., the unbelievably neat interweaving of the speaker with his subject—unbelievably, because before us was no coatless figure, "slouch hat, blue woolen shirt, pantaloons stuffed into boot-tops," as Samuel Clemens described himself when he arrived in Virginia City, to become the new city editor of the *Territorial Enterprise*; nor as he appeared later as a lecturer with a strong Missouri drawl, shock of russet hair and attired in a white suit. Here, on the contrary, was a gentleman, scholarly in appearance and voice, who used that drawl-free voice with a tantalizingly cogent rapidity that kept his hearers trying to make their memory function by such devices as sitting on the edges of their chairs and determining to read up on both Twain and Wecter (which this reviewer did, to compensate for unavoidable lapses in the notes taken at the time). And yet, to quote Twain about some one other than a biped, you never saw a person "so modest and straightforward, as he was, for all he was so gifted." One of the nineteen rules laid down by Mark Twain, with respect to the practice of literary art, says to "eschew surplusage"—a ban which causes abstinence from further elaboration of this pleasant theme, except to remark that any modern incarnation of Redpath and Fall's Lyceum Bureau in Boston, which managed Twain's lecture tours in the east, should have had an agent at the luncheon.

Dr. Wecter is literary editor of a collection of heretofore unpublished Mark Twain items, comprising letters, memoranda, photographs—from his apprentice days in the printing shop to his departure, shortly before death, from Bermuda in a wheel chair—and letters to him from R. L. Stevenson, W. D. Howells, Rudyard Kipling, to mention a few. The collection has lately become the property of the University of California, and is considered by its editor as one of the most valuable among literary estates. He has published extensively on the subject (*Mark Twain in Three Moods—Three New Items of Twainiana*, San Marino: Huntington Library, 1948; *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks*, edited by Dixon Wecter, San Marino: Huntington Library, 1949; "The Love Letters of Mark Twain," edited by Dixon Wecter, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1947-Jan. 1948, now expanded into book form as *The Love Letters of Mark Twain*, New York: Harpers, 1949; and, in the October 1948 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, "Mark Twain's River"). These may be consulted with great enjoyment and advantage.

For the purposes of this review, it will be appropriate to refresh the reader, as Dr. Wecter did, by giving the main (a dubiously accurate word) facts of Samuel Clemens' life, beginning with his birth at Florida, Missouri, November 30, 1835, and the family's move to Hannibal, Missouri, a town on the Mississippi, where Samuel Clemens, upon his father's death, learned the printer's trade. He may have been a slow compositor, for he said of himself (which, however, proves nothing): "... when I took a 'take,' foremen were in the habit of suggesting that it would be wanted 'some time during the year.'" Later he was to look back, as a famous author, upon printing and the printing fraternity with considerable aggravation; for example, when he complained to the publishers, Chatto and Windus, on July 25, 1897, that he knew "more about punctuation in two minutes than any damned bastard of a proof reader can learn in two centuries." Nearly twenty years before, Henry George was setting the type, himself, in San Francisco for his *Progress and Poverty* (1879), thus dispensing with argued commas and semicolons.

As a journeyman printer, Sam Clemens left home in 1853 and paid his own way east and around it. His experience in the field of type included, also, work on his brother Orion's (accent on the first syllable) newspaper in Hannibal. In 1857 Sam Clemens took up steamboat piloting on the Mississippi under Horace Bixby. Piloting on that stream is one of the exact sciences—it means knowing every detail, snag and otherwise, on the bottom and top of an irregular ribbon of water, 1200 miles long. (The hazards are known to Dr. Wecter from a personal reconnaissance of the same watery mileage in August 1947.) Then came the Civil War. Clemens enlisted with the Missouri Confederates—for two weeks. His brother Orion now comes into the history of the west, not only as the newly appointed secretary of the Territory of Nevada, set up in the spring of 1861, but as having for *his* secretary his brother Sam. They crossed the plains by overland stage from St. Joseph to Carson City. For a year Sam took in, and was taken in by, the silver mines of the Humboldt and of Esmeralda. (An atavistic episode, because his father, John Marshall Clemens, had purchased, wide-eyed instead of Wide-West, 80,000 acres on the Cumberland Plateau which he hoped—in vain, as it turned out—would bring a fortune to his family.) But Samuel Clemens put his observations into letters to the Virginia City *Enterprise*. They appealed to J. T. Goodman, possessed of both a keen literary instinct and of ownership of the *Enterprise*, itself; and so young Clemens, with the 2 P.M. Washoe zephyr whistling slantwise through his hair, became legislative correspondent at the capital of the territory, Carson City. To give the barbed letters on politics that he sent back to his employer a more personal stamp, he adopted the pseudonym "Mark Twain," bringing the cry heard on one of the greatest of the world's rivers into the dry places of desert journalism.

From Nevada, Mark Twain went to San Francisco where he worked on

the *Morning Call*, wrote sketches for the *Californian* and the *Golden Era*, and where the "Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" (notes for which, Dr. Wecter said, are in the collection he is editing) appeared in the *Saturday Press* on November 18, 1865. In San Francisco he had as his friends members of the writing group of the mid-1860's—C. H. Webb, Bret Harte, Charles Warren Stoddard, among others. He pocket-mined unsuccessfully for a while, too. Of his life in California he said, in a letter to his father-in-law-to-be, Jervis Langdon, that it "was not of a character to recommend me to the respectful regard of a high eastern civilization, but it was not considered blameworthy there. . . . I was just what Charles [Jervis Langdon's son and Livy's brother] would have been, similarly circumstanced, and deprived of home influences. . . ."—an utterance respectful to both sides of the question and the continent. But he dug into the life of the city and was listed in the directories for 1864-65 and 1865-66 as a reporter, living on Minna Street. He was San Francisco correspondent for the *Virginia City Enterprise*, and, in the opposite direction, visited Hawaii as correspondent for the *Sacramento Union*, primarily to report on the sugar situation; but he made his fame by a scoop of the salt-water situation in the wastes of the Pacific Ocean, as recounted to him by survivors of the burned clipper *Hornet*, forced to spend forty-three days in an open boat. Back in San Francisco, Mark Twain lectured with a success that was unquestioned. In 1867 he returned to the east, picking the Isthmus route through a thin slice of North America instead of across its difficult middle. As he traveled, he wrote weekly letters back to the editors of the *Alta California*, by whom he was enabled to tour the Mediterranean for some five or six months on the *Quaker City*, his correspondence giving rise, when assembled in book form, to *The Innocents Abroad* and to the facility and felicity with which he ever after sought travel in Europe and elsewhere over the globe.

Californians interested in what Mark Twain thought of his life here, might re-read *Roughing It*. It was published in 1871 by the American Publishing Company, A. Roman acting as San Francisco agent, and was dedicated to Calvin H. Higbie (anticipator, with Twain, of great wealth from the Nevada silver mines, who, according to a later page in the book, went modestly into the fruit business, on the strength of \$2500 saved after a decade in California mining camps). The title of the book, thought well of by Dan De Quille, reappears in a heading in Chapter X of his *History of the Big Bonanza*, for which Twain wrote an "introductory" to the first edition in 1876. The latter (Twain) felt himself qualified to write on California with authority. He had got it by "unconscious absorption," as did Bret Harte also; this was contrary to Harte's attempt to understand Newport, R. I., by "conscious observation," resulting in a failure that Twain called "absolutely monumental."

According to Mark Twain the pioneers had been "dauntless young braves . . . erect, bright-eyed. . . . It was that population that gave to California a

name for getting up astounding enterprises and rushing them through with a magnificent dash . . . and when she projects a new surprise, the grave world smiles as usual, and says—"well, that is California all over." But he found the pitch and turpentine smell of the forests "relentless," and there was "a ceaseless melancholy in their sighing and complaining foliage. . . ." One should re-read, however, his comment, couched in poetic prose, on the view of the "ambrosial" (as Dr. Wecter termed it) Sacramento Valley, seen from the Pacific Railroad winding down from the vicinity of Donner Lake; and he loved Lake Tahoe, comparing it to Como in Italy, to the credit of the new world, and possessed of extraordinary health-giving powers. Indeed, he found California "the friendliest land and liveliest, heartiest community on our continent," in spite of the race-bullying certain persons indulged in toward the Chinese; but "no Californian *gentleman or lady*" ever, in his opinion, did this—it was done by "only the scum of the population—they and their children." All that Twain cared to know, he said, "is that a man is a human being . . . he can't be any worse." A California ghost town he found inexpressibly sad—"all that is left of a fiercely flourishing little city . . . is but a lifeless, homeless solitude. . . ."

Only once more, in 1868, did Mark Twain return to California on a business and lecturing trip. Nevertheless, his death at Redding, Connecticut, on April 21, 1910, was brought home to San Franciscans by illustrated full-page newspaper comment (San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 22 and 23) and headlines in the vein of "All Nations Pay Tribute to Twain," with quotations from the columns of the foreign press and reminders of the honors (Yale's M.A. and LL.D.; the University of Missouri, his native state, an LL.D.; and, with great ceremony, Oxford's Litt.D.), heaped upon him during his career. But a simple statement that "a tank of Oxygen still stands uncalled for at Redding station," was probably the most telling reportorial phrase used at this time about a man whose mind had been as fresh and resilient as the contents of the tank, suddenly become powerless to detain him. Just before he died he asked his daughter, Mrs. Ossip Gabrilowitsch, for his glasses, intending, it was thought, to take up again his inseparable companion, Thomas Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution*. Jane Carlyle and Livy Clemens—did they, one wonders, have much in common in contemplating two such geniuses?

In Memoriam

DELPHINE A. CAIRE

In her ninety-fourth year, Delphine Adelaïde Caire died December 29, 1949, in Oakland, where she had lived most of her long life. She was born in San Francisco on May 6, 1856, the eldest child of Justinian and Albina C. S. Caire.

Justinian Caire reached San Francisco on March 29, 1851 (152 days from Le Havre, France, on the *Aurélié*, Capt. Gouin). Upon his arrival, he established a hardware business on Washington Street, for the first two or three years in partnership with Claude Long. While supplying the miners of California and the west with all types of mining equipment, he imported for the housewives such luxury articles as Sheffield plate from England, porcelains from France and dolls from Germany. It was in the commercial city of Genoa, Italy, that he had learned the hardware business and acquired the capital to start his own mercantile venture in the new world; and it was to Genoa that he returned briefly in 1854 to claim as his bride Maria-Cristina Sara Molfino, known then to her intimates, and, later, generally known, as Albina.

Their daughter, Delphine A. Caire, inherited from her father the scholarly bent of the Caire family, in which the law had been the traditional career for generations. Her name was for her reminiscent of forebears and ancestral lands: Adelaïde was the name of her paternal grandmother, Marie Adelaïde Arduin Caire; as Delphine, she bore a name recalling the snowy heights of Dauphiné, France. History was her forte, and she was an unusually accomplished linguist. Not only did she have a comprehensive knowledge of many languages, but a cultivated literary style in at least three. Reading was her favorite pastime. Even in extreme old age she would jot down meticulous notes in various languages, learning new words in each, and doing her own research on subjects that interested her. She was a magnificent story-teller; she could keep children spellbound with the wealth of Bible stories, fables and fairy tales, as well as historical anecdotes, at her command.

From her mother she inherited a gardener's "green thumb." Her father, a native of Briançon, in the Hautes-Alpes, loved trees and she shared that love. She grew and planted hundreds of them to protect and enhance the shores and ranches of Santa Cruz Island (in the Santa Barbara Channel), which Justinian Caire and nine other San Franciscans, associated together in the Santa Cruz Island Company, acquired from William E. Barron in 1869 for stock-raising and other agricultural purposes. Later, Caire became sole owner of all the capital stock of the corporation. The Caire family operated their sheep and cattle ranch and vineyards on the island until 1937, when they sold their holdings to Edwin L. Stanton of Los Angeles.

At most sports Delphine Caire was not adept, but she was an indefatigable

walker. It was hard to believe the distances she delighted to cover, whether on her numerous travels or in her native California. The family home at the time of her birth was on Telegraph Hill (north side of Vallejo Street between Montgomery and Kearny), and she was well into her eighties when she undertook an exploratory expedition to the hill, to refresh the memories of her childhood and to note the changes wrought by intervening decades. When she was about five years old, the Caire house and other houses on Vallejo Street were destroyed by fire. The family then removed to 313 Green Street, where she lived until her departure for Paris as a child of twelve. There, except for a memorable year spent in Briançon during the Franco-Prussian War, she was educated at the convent of the Trinitarian Ladies, of which for a time her paternal aunt was superior. Delphine Caire's earlier education in San Francisco had been acquired in two private schools, followed, in 1866, by attendance at the Powell Street convent of the Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and vivid memories of those years included her blackboard solution of a problem in fractions for an unexpected visitor to the classroom—the beloved Archbishop Alemany, whose preaching in Spanish at his cathedral, then located at California and Dupont streets, she also remembered.

It might be of interest to mention her neighbors on Telegraph Hill: to the left (west) of the Caire residence, Mr. and Mrs. Nicolas Larco; to the right, Mr. and Mrs. Agard—he English and she Scottish; farther east, on the same side of the street, the Lastreto family; across the street, at the corner of St. Vincent's Alley, the Younger family—the eldest brother, William, becoming in due time a well-known dentist; next door to them the family of Chief of Police Patrick Crowley. The amusements she used to tell about were the circus; an occasional concert at Platt's Hall, opera with her playmate Panchita Pruzzo, daughter of Doña Maria de Haro Pruzzo; carriage rides to the Cliff House; trips to Woodward's Gardens; gardening in a special plot reserved for her in the yard of the Green Street house; excursions on the bay to the "Contra Costa," as the east shore was known, where she remembered seeing oak trees gnawed evenly on the under side. (She was informed, she said, that this was done by wild horses.)

She had recollections of Civil War songs; of the taunt of some school children to their playmates, "You're nothing but an old Secesh!" She remembered the numerous torch-lighted parades, particularly during the excitement of the election of 1864; and she remembered the shock caused by Lincoln's assassination.

"Lala"—Genoese for "aunt"—as she was affectionately known to her family, maintained a host of charities and religious activities. Until almost eighty, she was a faithful teacher of Christian doctrine for children of Portuguese descent in East Oakland, and could regale listeners with amusing aspects con-

nected with an old lady's class work. Altar linens and particularly laces she fashioned in uncounted quantities.

So much for her life. As for her character, it expanded with the passing years in a fashion extraordinary to witness. Many aged persons become intolerant and selfish; but she valued senescence, as Cicero did and Abbé Barnard: her vision grew brighter and broader, her spirit gentler, her heart kinder. Peacefully, in Christmas week of 1949, she said her "Nunc Dimittis."

Delphine A. Caire is survived by her brother Frederic, and by numerous nieces and nephews and their descendants.

JEANNE CAIRE

GENERAL HENRY H. ARNOLD

General of the Air Force H. H. Arnold, who died of a heart ailment January 15, 1950, at his Sonoma, California, ranch, was born June 25, 1886, in Gladwyne, Pennsylvania, the son of a physician. He was graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1907 as a second lieutenant of infantry and entered the aviation section of the signal corps in 1911. During World War I, Arnold was advanced to assistant director of this service with the temporary rank of colonel. He became assistant chief of the air corps in 1938, with the temporary rank of brigadier general. Late that year, following the death of Maj. Gen. Oscar Westover, he was made chief of the air corps with the temporary rank of major general. In the next decade promotions succeeded each other rapidly: 1941, deputy chief of staff, U. S. army, then chief of the army air forces as a permanent major general; 1942, army air forces' first commanding general as a lieutenant general, and the next year came promotion to the rank of full general; 1944, one of four army leaders to be given five-star rank as General of the Army; June 3, 1949, commissioned a permanent General of the Air Force, the only such commission ever issued.

In 1911, Arnold was ordered to Dayton, Ohio, to take a sixty-day course in flying the "aeroplane," a two-place Wright ship with a forty-mile-per-hour top speed. In May he advised the chief signal officer that he had soloed:

Dayton, Ohio
13 May 1911

The Chief Signal Officer, USA

Sir:—I have the honor to report the following progress made by me in learning to operate a Wright aeroplane. During the week I have made twelve flights with an instructor and one flight by myself. My instruction under the personal supervision of the instructor in the machine is finished and from now on all my flights will be made alone for experience.

Very respectfully
[SIGNED] HENRY H. ARNOLD
2nd Lt. 24th Infantry

And one of Arnold's proudest possessions—one which can be seen in all his pictures and which he wore to his grave—is the military aviator's badge which he won the next year with a twenty-mile flight at 1500 feet altitude.

Most of the reading public knows of General Arnold's air and military accomplishments, especially in his late years when he rose to the eminent position of the United States' number one air commander, adviser to presidents, and counselor on war strategy at all the conference tables of the allies. His earlier history, less widely publicized, was familiar to many of his associates, who always knew that his accomplishments and abilities marked him as the airman of destiny, if and when the airman should have his day.

For Hap Arnold, as for Billy Mitchell and the others, military service became a crusade for acceptance of air power as a prime instrumentality for national security. The decisions affecting air power were invariably made by men who, if not openly prejudiced against the airplane, were almost totally ignorant of its potentialities. Soon after Billy Mitchell was court martialed, Hap Arnold was "banished" to Fort Riley, Kansas, a cavalry post, where, as a major in command of one flight of an observation squadron, he served as eyes for the cavalry. It was there, in 1926, that the writer of this obituary first met Arnold.

And now Hap has gone. If he had looked back as he left us, he'd have seen many saddened eyes, the eyes of men who you'd have thought had as little sentiment as a collapsed parachute. He'll not be alone up there, for two wars and thousands of accidents have bidden many of his old confreres on, ahead of him.

They tell me that the flying is good, going up there; no navigating and no storms to fly through, and just getting there is an altitude record.

WADDELL F. SMITH

Colonel, Air Force, U.S., Ret'd

GEORGE GORDON POLLOCK

Sacramento civic leader and nationally known engineer, George Gordon Pollock (b. Charleston, Ind., 1885) died unexpectedly at his home on January 15, 1950.

After graduation in 1905 from Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, with a degree in civil engineering, his first employer was the Union Pacific Railroad in Omaha. In 1909 he came to Sacramento as an engineer for the Western Bridge and Construction Company, and nine years later he had become owner of his own engineering construction business.

During World War II, Mr. Pollock was president of the Pollock Stockton Shipbuilding Company, which was credited with constructing more than \$80,000,000 in naval auxiliary vessels. Immediately following the war, his efforts were turned toward rehabilitation and toward repair of the navy's damaged installations in the Philippines, Guam and the Hawaiian Islands.

The list of projects with which this talented civil engineer had been connected is impressive: Shasta Dam, the All American Canal for Boulder Dam, the construction of the \$2,000,000 dry docks at the Alameda Naval Air Base,

the \$750,000 Ruck A Chucky Dam on the American River, the \$20,000,000 docks for the naval fleet base at San Pedro, the \$7,000,000 dry dock project at Pearl Harbor, the \$3,500,000 cruiser dry dock at Mare Island, the \$70,000,000 naval operations base at Long Beach and Point Hueneme, and the Tower Bridge which spans the Sacramento River at the foot of Capitol Avenue.

In spite of the size of these projects, Mr. Pollock found time to pay close attention to his farming interests. He raised registered Hereford cattle and Clydesdale and Percheron horses. At the California State Fair and at other expositions, his animals won innumerable blue ribbons and grand champion awards.

In civic affairs, Mr. Pollock's activities included the regional vice-presidency of the Sacramento Valley Council, California Chamber of Commerce; he was also a director of the state chamber, and chairman of its important committee which annually entertains the industrial, business and agricultural leaders of California during the state fair. Governor Earl Warren appointed Mr. Pollock a member of the California Centennials Commission, but pressure of work forced him to resign after a short time. A little over a decade ago (1939) the Golden Empire Council of the Boy Scouts of America did him and themselves the honor of electing Mr. Pollock its president.

Aside from prominence in the Masonic Order in Omaha and in Sacramento, he had numerous club affiliations—over a dozen in all—which showed the width of his interests. They included history, tennis, the press, his own profession of civil engineering, Greek letter societies. . . . In the San Francisco business community, he served on the board of the California Western States Life Insurance Company and was a member of the World Trade Center Authority.

Surviving Mr. Pollock are his widow, the former Irma Phleger, a member of a prominent Sacramento family, whom he married in 1913; also three sons, George Gordon Pollock, Jr., and Alan Harper Pollock, both of Sacramento; and John Phleger Pollock of Los Angeles.

CAROLINE WENZEL

SIDNEY FISH

On the night of February 5, 1950, Sidney Fish, a scion of one of New York's oldest families and a resident of the Monterey Peninsula for nearly a quarter of a century, died at his ranch in the Carmel Valley, a month before reaching the age of sixty-five.

Mr. Fish was born in New York, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish, attended Groton, then Harvard (class of 1908) where he rowed on the varsity crew and was elected to membership in the Porcellian Club. From Harvard he went to Columbia University and completed the course in law. World War I interrupted his further progress in civilian life but he attained distinction overseas as captain of artillery, and at the time of the armistice

was acting as aide to Maj. Gen. Henry T. Allen, commanding the 90th division.

Once back in New York, Mr. Fish resumed his legal practice until, with retirement, he came to California and built his Monterey-type residence, Palo Corona, on the ridge overlooking the Carmel Valley and Carmel Bay. His warm, generous hospitality at Palo Corona will be missed by former guests from the east and abroad, when they chance to visit the Pacific coast again.

The widow, Mrs. Esther Fish, and a son, Stuyvesant Fish, by a former marriage, survive Mr. Fish; also two step children, David S. Moore of San Francisco and Mrs. Henry H. Rathbun of Washington, D. C.; and a brother, Stuyvesant Fish of Mt. Kisco, New York.

ALLEN GRIFFIN

The obituary for Joseph Le Conte will appear in the June QUARTERLY.

New Members

(Dec. 1949-Feb. 1950)

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
Mrs. James G. Boswell	Pasadena	J. R. Brehm
Mrs. Morton R. Gibbons	San Francisco	Continuing Dr. Gibbons' membership
	<i>Active</i>	
John E. Bauer	Los Angeles	Andrew F. Rolle
Ralph P. Bieber	St. Louis, Mo.	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Lt. Comdr. Joseph E. Bolt, U.S.N. (Ret'd)	Alameda	William G. Paden
Mrs. A. H. Brandt	Berkeley	R. H. Cross
A. A. Brierly	Independence	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Vincent K. Butler	San Francisco	Mrs. Donald Tresidder
Mrs. E. G. Cahill	San Francisco	Mrs. John E. Cahill
Mrs. Ruth M. Calderwood	Palo Alto	George L. Harding
Donald A. Cameron	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Henry Cartan	San Francisco	Porter Sesnon
Hance H. Cleland	San Diego	L. M. Klauber
Ernest G. Coan	Gasquet	Membership Committee
Contra Costa Schools	Martinez	Membership Committee
John G. Curtis	San Francisco	L. S. Gerlough
Mrs. Donald Davies	Salinas	Paul P. Parker
Mrs. Clinton de Witt	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Florence Holland Donnelly	San Rafael	Aubrey Neasham
Miss Margaret Downing	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. H. H. Fisher	Palo Alto	Membership Committee
Mrs. Donald H. Fry	South Pasadena	Henry R. Wagner
W. T. George	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Spencer Grant	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Clyda Schott Greely	Yuba City	Resuming membership
Mrs. Russell H. Green	Palos Verdes Estates	Mrs. George P. Tallant
Richard B. Gump	San Francisco	Sidney Schwartz
Carl L. Hansen	San Francisco	R. H. Cross
Edward C. Henshaw	San Francisco	Porter Sesnon
Mrs. Aldwyn Hewitt	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Osgood Hooker	Burlingame	Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. James C. Jackman	San Francisco	Mrs. Henry Cartan
A. N. Jewett	Eureka	Membership Committee
Miss Charlotte J. M. Jones	Oakland	R. H. Cross
Harry H. Kem	Beverly Hills	Membership Committee
A. D. La Motte	San Diego	L. M. Klauber
Ramsay Lawson	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Azro N. Lewis	San Francisco	Mrs. Henry Cartan
E. C. Lipman	Piedmont	Miss Else Schilling and F. L. Lipman
George D. Louderback	Berkeley	W. W. Winn
Mrs. Wallace McBain	Sacramento	Continuing Mr. McBain's membership
William T. McCaffrey	Lafayette	Miss Jessie Lea

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. George Adams Martin	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Paul Michael, M.D.	Oakland	Membership Committee
Milwaukee Public Library	Milwaukee, Wis.	Membership Committee
Mrs. J. Stuart Moore	Stockton	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. William H. Nolan	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Miss Anna C. O'Brien	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Miss Annie O'Callaghan	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Charles H. Olsson	Pixley	Harold G. Schutt
Craig Owens	San Francisco	H. L. Simpson
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Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

In 1920, Helen Irving Oehler (Mrs. J. C. Oehler) moved from New Jersey to Texas, where Mr. Oehler (Princeton Univ., 1918, and colonel in the U. S. reserve forces) is principal of the junior high school in Dallas. This wide move inland, away from the familiar scenes of the Atlantic coast, has not interfered with Mrs. Oehler's research in connection with her great-grandfather's life. Recognition of its value was given her in the summer of 1948 when she was speaker-of-the-day on the subject of Dr. Winslow at the Nantucket Historical Association's annual meeting. She has studied at Goucher College and at Columbia University, and is an active member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants—whose ancestors are known to have been a floating aggregation of scholars and artisans. Membership in this organization came to her through Mrs. Winslow's line to John Howland.

John Adam Hussey (U. C., Ph.D., 1941) has been a contributor to the *QUARTERLY* on various themes—"Farthest West," the old state house in Benicia, Talbot H. Green, Lt. A. H. Gillespie, among others. He is now historian for the National Park Service, in the survey they are making preliminary to a Mississippi River parkway.

Paul P. Parker, son of Dr. John Parker (Castroville physician from 1874 to 1889 and later practicing in Salinas), graduated from Stanford in 1903 and for nine years worked on newspapers and farm journals. In 1913 came an unusual assignment. The then-aging cattle king, Henry Miller, selected him to compile a booklet on Miller & Lux farm management for use by the firm's general manager and superintendent. This necessitated the reading, on Mr. Parker's part, of many hundreds of letters written by Miller to his ranch foremen. Aside from the practical bias that had to be kept continuously in view, the labor was of great value historically, for the Miller correspondence covered many years and registered the changes in the cattle industry, as it was conducted by Miller and Lux over the vast area included in their ranches in California, Nevada, and Oregon. Upon completion of the booklet, Mr. Parker purchased the *Salinas Daily Journal*. To avoid using "canned stories," as he says, "already set in type," he searched through the fifteen volumes of Mexican archives in the Monterey County recorder's office, to get material for an historical column which he instituted in the *Journal*. At the same time he gained familiarity with the handwriting of Colton, Hartnell, Gilroy, etc. When published, the stories stimulated pioneer families to bring in diaries, reminiscences, and other papers in their possession. The interest thus aroused served as a nucleus for the formation of the Monterey County Historical Society at Salinas. Mr. Parker sold the *Journal* in 1929.

This gave him more time to collect Californiana and write on historical subjects for the *Monterey County Post*, the *Salinas Independent*, and to pursue other interests.

Correction. In the biographical note (p. 378) on Miss Annie Mitchell, author of the article on J. D. Savage in the December 1949 issue of the *QUARTERLY*, "Visalia Historical Society" should have read "Tulare County Historical Society in Visalia" (see below for further mention of this vigorous organization).

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

In the *Yale Review*, Winter 1950, pp. 370-74, appears "The Gold Rush and Its Historians," in which Ralph P. Bieber lists ten volumes, with brief comments on each. He also contributes some reflections of his own on the demands the subject makes upon the skill and patience of students essaying it. As his energies have been dedicated for some time recently to researches on the gold-rush period, under a Rockefeller grant, his recommendations carry weight. Mr. Bieber is a member of the department of history at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

A. A. Brierly's mother was born in Jackson, Amador County, within forty-eight hours after an ox team, just in from crossing the plains, had landed her parents there on September 1, 1853. Meanwhile, Mr. Brierly's future father, a boy of six, was spending that winter with his family in Salt Lake City and did not cross into California until early in 1854. Both sides of the family gravitated toward Owens Valley where, at Bishop in January 1884, he was born. He has lived practically his whole life in the Owens Valley and has held "more county offices—and for less time in each—than any other resident of the county has ever had." The list of his offices includes school superintendent, probation officer, assessor . . . and, for the last fifteen years, county surveyor. A lease of some 9000 acres, southeast of Bishop, supplies feed and exercise for Mr. Brierly's cattle and horses. These dumb animals make him happy; but, because he is a surveyor and accurate, his erring fellow creatures, who place "Near This Spot" historical markers in wrong places, irk him extremely.

Before taking up the U. S. navy as a life work, beginning with enlistment in December 1917, Joseph Earle Bolt (b. 1894, Laurens Co., S. C.) had made good use of a competitive four-year scholarship at the University of South Carolina, and, upon graduation in 1915, had spent two years in high-school administration work in South Carolina and Georgia. His work in the navy as a supply officer has taken him into the usual complement of foreign waters. On land, on the west coast, he has been stationed at Bremerton, Washington, and at Mare Island and San Diego in California. Lieut. Comdr. Bolt retired from active duty in October 1946. Lately (Dec. 14, 1949), with more free time on his hands, he completed a short course in California history, given in Oakland by the state university's extension division. An his-

torical study of navy supply from the resources of California should be of much interest.

Ernie Coan has been in newspaper and publicity work for the past forty years, taking as nuclei for his stories the lives of western and middle-western pioneers. These accounts have been appearing in syndicated form, chiefly in middle-western papers. As a cub reporter for C. S. Jackson of the *Portland Journal*, Mr. Coan was assigned to cover the Santa Barbara earthquake of June 29, 1925. Since then he has lived in this state and is engaged in collecting historical and biographical material for a book on Del Norte, his home county.

Among the newcomers of 1849 were Mrs. F. H. Donnelly's grandparents—single, at the time, but becoming Mr. and Mrs. John J. Conmy upon their marriage in old St. Francis Church in San Francisco. The tie tied, off they went to northern California where Conmy did well at gold mining; then, with the printing and publishing experience he had had in Philadelphia, he established the *Trinity Journal* at Weaverville, a pioneer sheet in northern California. Another pioneer was Mrs. Donnelly's Aunt Ellen Conmy, said to be the first white child born in Trinity County. From Weaverville, Conmy took his family to old Shasta and for eleven years published the *Shasta Courier*. Here, in old Shasta, the Conmy's youngest daughter, Alice, Mrs. Donnelly's mother, was born. (Last September she celebrated her eighty-first birthday.) From Shasta, the family moved to San Jose where Conmy again entered the newspaper field as part owner of the *Mercury*, subsequently setting up his own printing plant. As to the paternal side of Mrs. Donnelly's family—her father was the late Frank Sargent Holland, Marin County recorder for a number of years. His father, Franklin W. Holland, went to Tomales, Marin County, with his wife in the early 1860's, and was associated with his brother-in-law, Warren Dutton, in several enterprises including lumber. The daughter of A. Roman, early publisher (see Miss Stern's article on Roman in the March 1949 *QUARTERLY*), was the wife of John Dutton, Mrs. Donnelly's father's first cousin, and the train, in the wreck of which Roman was killed (June 1903), was Warren Dutton's funeral train. Following the Conmy tradition, Mrs. Donnelly is herself interested in newspaper work and has been on the staff of the *San Rafael Independent*, now the *Independent-Journal*, for some years. She also composes feature articles, such as the series she is now doing on the west's early paper mills for the *Paper Maker*. But in her own opinion, the part she was able to play, in having Mission San Rafael Arcangel restored, has been her greatest achievement. (See this Society's NOTES for Feb. 1950, p. 2.)

Arriving on the west coast in the 1850's and 1860's, grandparents on both sides of Osgood Hooker's family saw the new state of California trying to

get adjusted to its status in political, financial, and commercial ways, and in the matter of transcontinental transportation. His paternal grandparents, Charles Gay Hooker and May Osgood Hooker, settled in Sacramento; the maternal branch, Mr. and Mrs. William Frank Goad (May Cook Goad) went to Colusa, where Mr. Goad practiced law and became interested in establishing the Colusa County Bank. As to the transportation problem, to and from the new state, Mr. Hooker's mother took it in her stride, having been, we are told, the first baby to cross the continent on a railroad train.

Blessed with an enthusiasm for agriculture, A. D. La Motte's father—Alfred Victor La Motte of Chester, Pa.—saw in the California of the 1850's a chance to practice it, first on the Bluecher ranch in Sonoma County, and, later, west of Glen Ellen in the same county, on the Lenni ranch, subsequently to become the property of the author Jack London. Sonoma was attractive likewise to A. D. La Motte's mother, Suzanne Formhals, who traveled to California via the Horn and took up school teaching in the town of Sonoma. In 1870, she and A. V. La Motte were married, made their home on the Lenni ranch until about 1894, and became the parents of five children—Edith M., Victor J., Gertrude D., Constance, and Alfred D., the Society's new member. Victor J. La Motte (now deceased) was president of the First National Bank of Oakland, later to be merged with the Anglo-California Bank, of which he then became a vice-president. A. D. La Motte is the owner of the Thearle Music Co., established in San Diego in 1887; he made his start in this congenial type of business around 1900, when he joined the staff of Wiley B. Allen in San Francisco.

E. C. Lipman's father, F. L. Lipman, has been held in high regard for many years as president of the Union Trust Co. of San Francisco and, until his retirement, as chairman of the board of the combined Wells Fargo and Union Trust Co. E. C. Lipman (U. C., 1914) has himself had a notable career in the business life of the bay region, first with the Emporium in San Francisco, then ten years in Oakland with the H. C. Capwell Co., returning in 1937 to the Emporium, of which he has been president since 1946. Mr. Lipman is also consulting professor of merchandising at Stanford University.

Mrs. William H. Nolan and her sister, Miss Anna C. O'Brien, are both natives of San Francisco, Mrs. Nolan being the widow of one of the Nolan brothers, pioneer shoe merchants. Her son, Webster K. Nolan, a member of this Society, has been in newspaper work for some time, here, in the Orient, and in Washington, D. C. He has held office in the Native Sons organization, showing special interest in the work of their state history board.

Lloyd Bernard Raisty (B.Sc., Univ. of Iowa, 1924; Ph.D., Texas, 1934) lived the academic life for seventeen years, including one year, 1924-25, spent as instructor in the Nagasaki Higher Commercial School, the remain-

ing sixteen at the University of Georgia. Here he attained to a full professorship in 1938. Since 1941, with the exception of 1945-48 spent in the employ of A. G. Rhodes & Son, Mr. Raisty has been with the Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta, Ga., where he is at present senior economist. On his mother's side, he is descended from Claas Groesbeck, who came to New Amsterdam in colonial times and took up fur trading out of Albany. An enthusiasm for the history of western expansion may have been inherited by Mr. Raisty from this ancestor, but he says it antedates his hearing of Groesbeck. Whatever its source, he has been finding much enjoyment, he says, in the *Journal of Madison Berryman Moorman*, edited for this Society by Irene Paden, and in Mrs. Paden's recent *Prairie Schooner Detours*.

C. H. Ryan's gift of three hubs or dies, used here in the 1850's in making gold pieces, was described in the Society's NOTES for November 1949. His interest in California as a transient from Brooklyn, N. Y., attending a convention, may now, with membership in the Society, blossom forth into permanence, with the salutary tang of perspective.

In the library of the University of California is a bound copy book containing the "Life and Travels of Samuel Fleming Sinclair," as transcribed by hand from his personal papers by the Society's new member, Miss Sarah Sinclair, and her brother, William John Sinclair. It tells the incidents of this County-of-Londonderry Irishman's departure from Ireland, his arrival in New York in June 1848, and his trip, some four years later, via the Isthmus to San Francisco where he arrived in May 1852. The copying of this journal was indeed an enlightened piece of work in preserving family papers. Samuel Fleming Sinclair became an American citizen on March 29, 1862, witnesses of his papers being James Phelan and William Bosworth, old friends. On January 31, 1876, he was married to Miss Ellen Milliken at the First United Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, Rev. M. M. Gibson officiating.

Mrs. Rockwell L. Stone, a native of San Francisco, is at present chairman of the history and landmarks committee of the California Federation of Women's Clubs.

Shortly after the close of World War I, a group of persons interested in the history of California, particularly of their own county, got together and formed the Tulare County Historical Society. Difficulties that beset all of us, more or less, in the period between the last two world wars, necessitated changes in the organization's program, but since 1944, with increased membership and the cooperation of the county's supervisors, it has been able to revive its plans. These have included the erection of a museum in Mooney's Grove, and, with the collaboration of the California Centennials Commission, the placing of permanent markers at Kaweah Post Office, Tailholt, Election Tree, and Tule River Indian reservation. Harold Schutt, who has

compiled information on the history of the trees and the lumber interests of the county, is the president; and associated with him in the society's management are Walter Sunkel, Mrs. Lester Lambkin, Miss Annie Mitchell, Adolph Sweet, Joe Doctor, and A. L. Dickey. Headquarters are at 701 Watson Ave., Visalia.

A Carrillo of California (specifically, Elena Anita Thompson, daughter of A. B. Thompson and Francisca Carrillo Thompson) joined forces in matrimony with a Tyng of Massachusetts (specifically George Tyng, descendant of the founder of Tyngsborough, Mass.) in giving the medical forces of the U. S. army a talented colonel, now retired, and this Society a new member, Dr. Francis G. Tyng. His maternal ancestors are given four closely printed pages in H. H. Bancroft's "Pioneer Register": he calls José Raimundo Carrillo the founder of the family in California, and says that it "must be considered in several respects the leading one in California by reason of the number and prominence of its members and of their connection by marriage with so many of the best families, both native and pioneer." The Tyngs can probably cite a similarly attractive send-off in Massachusetts history books, for, after all, Bancroft does mention "best families."

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Albert Little Bancroft

*His Diaries, Account Books, Card String of Events,
and Other Papers*

By HENRY R. WAGNER

SOMEONE might ask: Who was Albert Little Bancroft? That he was a brother of Hubert Howe was well known to his contemporaries, but almost always he was referred to simply as A. L. Bancroft. What did the "L." stand for? His intimate friends knew him, undoubtedly, as Albert; what the initial "L." stood for, was, I am sure, almost unknown to everyone. I never saw his name written in full until I found it in his obituary. It appears likely that for several reasons Albert did not like his middle name. A slightly older brother had been baptized with that name in March 1835 but had died in infancy. When Albert was born his parents thought it appropriate to give him the same name as the deceased boy. Probably for this reason, chiefly, he disliked his middle name; probably also because it has a peculiar significance for a younger brother—it sounded like "little."

By pure accident I heard a short time ago that one of Albert's daughters, Mrs. Donald H. Fry, was living within about two miles of me. Being incapacitated at the moment I asked my secretary, Mrs. Ruth Frey Axe, to call on Mrs. Fry, and she was most graciously received. Mrs. Axe explained to Mrs. Fry that we were writing an article on the publications of the Bancrofts. She generously lent me a number of diaries and account books which had been kept by her father. She gave Mrs. Axe to understand that these were all the papers she had, with the exception of a few which she had given some years ago to her niece.

Appended herewith is a list of the documents Mrs. Fry loaned me, except some small personal souvenirs of no historical importance:

ALBERT L. BANCROFT PAPERS LOANED TO HENRY R. WAGNER BY MRS. DONALD H. FRY

Two partial-clasp diaries of 1860, 1861.

Account books, fifteen in all, for the years 1866, '67, '68; 1869-70; 1871; 1872; 1873; 1874; 1875; 1878; 1879; 1880; 1881; 1882; 1883; 1884; 1885. These list personal and household expenses only.

Copies of Ledger Sheets of A. L. Bancroft Esq. with A. L. Bancroft & Co.: 1879; 1880; 1881; 1882.

Card String of Events, written mostly in 1908, comprising some 250 leaves of genealogy and chronology of the Bancroft family.

The Bancroft Book (Section Four): The lines of Matilda Bancroft and Azariah Ashley Bancroft. This contains some genealogical notes about Albert's ancestors with some autobiographical material by members of the family, photos, mementos, and, at the end, a printed article about the road-blocking system.

Small notebook of 1880, August and September.

Bancroft's *First Reader*, 1883.

Photos.

Albert was born on the family's farm near Granville, Ohio, on May 15, 1841, the son of Azariah Ashley and Lucy (Howe) Bancroft, who had been married at Granville on February 21, 1822. The year he was born, Albert's parents moved to New Madrid, Missouri, where they spent four years and then returned to Granville. At six years of age he went on a trip on the "Underground Railroad." The next year (1848) came a flat-boat trip down the Mississippi River. In 1855 he spent some months with his Aunt Matilda on a farm near Columbus, Ohio. Late in the spring of the same year he went, with his uncle Justin Hillyer and some livestock, onto a section of wild prairie land in Illinois, owned by his father and two of his uncles. Here he stayed with his father and mother for about a year and a half. During the winter of 1856-57 he attended school in Auburn, New York, living with his oldest sister, Cecilia; but by the spring of 1858 he was on his way with his brother Hubert to California, where they arrived on April twelfth. Albert then entered the bookstore of H. H. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco, as a bookkeeper.

The firm of H. H. Bancroft & Co., publishers and booksellers, was organized in 1856, and consisted of H. H. Bancroft and George L. Kenny. Kenny had accompanied Hubert to California in 1852 and had remained there when the latter returned to Buffalo in 1854. The new firm opened business on the corner of Montgomery and Merchant Streets, San Francisco, on December 1, 1856. Hubert had secured a loan of \$5,500 from his sister, the widow of George H. Derby, and also some \$10,000 worth of goods on credit from Ames & Barnes, wholesalers in New York. Kenny put in some money which he had made while working in bookstores and in other occupations when his partner was in the east and in Crescent City.

Not long after the start of the business, they admitted, as a partner, Jonathan Hunt, a realtor, who had had desk room in their place of business. Hunt did not remain very long. Sometime toward the close of 1857, Hubert went east and spent a great part of the year 1858 in Buffalo courting Emily Ketchum, a somewhat rigid Presbyterian, who evidently was suspicious of her suitor's religious tendencies or lack of them. While in the east, he arranged to obtain some \$50,000 or \$60,000 worth of goods on commission. He then returned to California with his brother, Albert. Later in 1859, Hubert, having adorned himself with the habiliments of a rigid Presbyterian at Dr. W. A. Scott's Calvary Church in San Francisco, returned to Buffalo and married the lady on October twenty-seventh. A month afterwards he arrived, with his bride and his sister Mary Melissa, in San Francisco, where he took a house on Harrison Street. They all went to live in it, including Albert.

Albert undoubtedly saved some money from his salary as bookkeeper of the H. H. Bancroft company during 1859, and it is evident from the beginning of his diary that an agreement had been made to start a new firm under the name of A. L. Bancroft & Co., to deal in stationery and blank books. The question is: What was the object in starting a branch store on Clay Street at this time? Was it a shortage of space in the Montgomery Street establishment, or was it due to a desire on the part of Hubert to try out his young brother in a responsible position? Albert was to have a half-interest in the new firm. How much cash he had we do not know. Hubert put into the firm stationery, blank books and other goods. The arrangements were not completed by January 1860, when the first diary of Albert begins.

In the chronology of 1863, Albert states that "either my brother Hubert or I was in charge of the book and stationery business at San Francisco, both of us never being away at the same time." In 1863 Albert went east to attend to the business at that end, where he remained for nearly three years. He married Frances Ann Watts, on January 11, 1866, in New York City, and the same morning sailed for San Francisco. She was the daughter of Judge John S. Watts of Bloomington, Indiana, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. Albert had met her in 1863 at Greenport, on the east end of Long Island, where he was spending a short time with his sister Emily (Mrs. Palmer) and two of his nieces. From 1866 to 1870 he and Hubert with their families shared the same residence, on California near Franklin, until Albert moved in 1871 to Franklin near Pine. This continued to be Albert's residence until January 1, 1876, when he moved into his newly finished two-story house at 1605 Franklin Street, his home for more than twenty years.

In his own account, Albert mentions the fire on the Bancroft premises, 723 Market Street, as occurring on April 28, 1886, and describes the loss as about \$250,000 above the insurance (\$123,075), besides the building which was owned by H. H. Bancroft, personally. As a result of the fire, Albert states that the business was scattered. He himself was in New York City in the early days of September 1886, on a buying trip for A. L. Bancroft & Co.

The first company to be formed after the fire was the Bancroft-Whitney Co., which took over the law-publishing business of the A. L. Bancroft Co. Sumner Whitney had a small law-publishing business of his own, and when the company was incorporated on May 6, 1886, the incorporators were: Albert, F. P. Stone, Joseph Hasbrouck, Sumner Whitney and F. G. Sanborn. Stone was undoubtedly taken over by Albert from the A. L. Bancroft Co.; in 1874 he had been put under a contract with this firm by Albert, who, in a memorandum in his account book for that year, states that he had arranged a salary with Stone as far as 1880. It is therefore probable that he continued with A. L. Bancroft & Co. until the 1886 fire. In July 1887, Hubert took over the assets and liabilities of A. L. Bancroft & Co. and became president of a new company, The Bancroft Co.

Albert had still another iron in the fire, as he organized what he called the A. L. Bancroft Co. after he had been "ousted" by his brother from the old A. L. Bancroft Co., to quote the word used in Bertha Knight Power, *William Henry Knight* (n.p., privately printed, 1932), p. 64. The third A. L. Bancroft Co. apparently had no publishing and probably no bookselling business. Their business seems to have been confined to the sale of pianos, and probably other musical instruments. In 1896 the company appears in the *Directory* as incorporated, with his wife as president. Thereafter it ceases to be listed.

As for the Bancroft-Whitney Co., Albert remained president through 1894, when apparently he sold his stock in order to invest in the Honey Lake Irrigation Co. He therefore resigned as president of Bancroft-Whitney and Stone was elected in his place. Knight, in an article in the *Los Angeles Times* for March 10, 1918, makes the following interesting statement about Stone:

The publication of law books proved the most profitable, and finally that portion of the business was transferred to a new firm—The Bancroft-Whitney Co. . . . This, and some other transfers, which eventually led to the disintegration of the business were manipulated by two brothers—Nathan and Fred Stone—who were brought into the store by Mr. Bancroft's brother Albert, and finally led to his undoing.

The Honey Lake investment turned out to be a total failure, with the result that Albert felt obliged to sell either his house in San Francisco or his farm in Contra Costa County. In 1896 by a vote of the family it was decided to dispose of the Franklin Street house rather than the farm, a property of some 360 acres in Ignacio Valley, about two miles from Walnut Creek which Albert, in connection with his brother Hubert, had bought in January 1885. They had divided the land between them. Later, at varying times, Albert made seven other purchases, making in all just over 600 acres. The different parts were given separate names—Aloha Farm, Granville Orchard, and Crofton—but were run under one management. Albert set out over 50,000 fruit trees, and in the summer of 1890 he built a two-story concrete house at Aloha Farm. The walls, twelve inches, withstood the earthquake of 1906 without a crack, and made the house most comfortable in winter and summer. The cornerstone was marked "A. L. B. 1890 F. W. B."

Also in 1890 Albert announced his Country Road Blocking System which he had conceived, during his first trip abroad, in Frankfurt-on-Main in 1869-70, its object being to parcel land in such a way as to simplify rural numbering.

In the fall of 1896, Albert went to Los Angeles. Four years later, on or about August third, he was caught, at night, by a wire at the edge of the sidewalk and was thrown heavily to the ground. His shoulder was dislocated but the fact was not discovered until a year and a half afterwards when an X-ray disclosed it. He was badly burned in the taking of the X-ray. On June 28, 1905, Albert left Los Angeles and went to Portland where he attended

the Lewis & Clark Centennial Exposition. His sister, Emily, joined him there and together they returned east to attend the centennial celebration of the settlement of Granville, Ohio. He spent some time during 1907-1908 in Toledo, looking up the Bancroft family and their connections. He then returned to Aloha Farm, but was nervous there and went to live in Oakland where his death occurred on October 14, 1914. His wife died in 1922. Their children are: Bert Howe Bancroft (named originally Hubert Howe Bancroft, Jr., but he later changed his name), born in June 1867; Frank Watts Bancroft, born on October 18, 1871; Alberta Bancroft Reid, born on March 2, 1873; Sara Cone Bancroft, born on July 3, 1879, who married Donald Hume Fry on September 24, 1899, at Aloha Farm (they have one son, Donald H. Fry, Jr., who was born at San Francisco on September 2, 1905); and Karl August Bancroft (later changed his name to John), born in Weimar, Germany, on March 7, 1881. All the children are still living except Frank.

Albert had numerous interests outside his business. He was one of the first members of the Bohemian Club and also of the Olympic Club. He was interested in The Spelling Reform Society which he joined in 1883; but, on the subject of speech, his chief and lasting hobby seems to have been the collection of books on a universal language. This collection of some 150 volumes on Esperanto, Volapük, Ido, and others he left at his death to his family. The books came into the possession of Mrs. Fry, who donated them to the Henry E. Huntington Library in the spring of 1923. Since then she has generously added to the collection.

Apparently one of the objects in sending his family to Europe in 1880 for three years had been to instill in the children a knowledge of German and French, which they were compelled to speak when they returned to America. Albert himself had some knowledge of German before he went abroad and was taking lessons in French in San Francisco. During the family's residence in Weimar, he had a set of dining-room furniture carved. This consisted of two chairs for each child, ten in all, and a massive sideboard and buffet. Each chair had an excellent carved likeness of the child to whom it belonged, together with the date 1882.

Albert's account books are evidences of his generosity and also of his attention to detail. There will always be a question in my mind as to which of the brothers was responsible for the departmentalization of the business and its wide extension. No doubt Hubert began it, but his absorption in other matters seems to have left the practical conduct of the business to his younger brother.

ALBERT'S DIARY OF 1860

(with some omission of insignificant details)

January 1, Sunday. Went to church twice.

January 2, Monday. Kept the store open for a while and worked there until late at night.

January 3, Tuesday. Collected money with difficulty. Letters from home by the steamer *Cortes*.

January 4, Wednesday. Collections difficult but sent money to Ames & Barnes of New York to take up the note.

[All this indicates that the business had been going on for some weeks before January 1, 1860.]

January 5, Thursday. Compiled a book of the principal business men on the coast to be used by both Companies.

January 6, Friday. Collected only \$150, and spent the evening trying to blacken both Hube's and my boots, but without success.

January 7, Saturday. Balanced accounts, also with [a mysterious] Fred.

January 8, Sunday. Communion Sunday. Emily and Melissa and Cousin Martha Hillyer all joined the church. Mr. McKee asked all his scholars if they would like to go to the theatre to see Hackett. I told Hube about it and he did not like it and said I had better leave his class.

January 9, Monday. Marked samples to send to the booksellers and went to the gymnasium. Today at noon Mr. McKee called and asked me to go to the theatre this evening but I thought I had better not.

January 10, Tuesday. S.S. *Golden Gate* arrived, twenty days, six hours from New York, the quickest time from New York yet. Em received long letters by Overland Mail. I was busy all day marking samples and folding paper.

January 11, Wednesday. Hube put \$1,549.46 of money due him into the firm of A. L. Bancroft & Co.

January 12, Thursday. Hube figured the interest on his and Kenny's a/c and put more into the a/c of A. L. Bancroft & Co. I struck a trial balance and am off .03 (three cents). We are awaiting the arrival of goods. Never eat mince pie after dinner.

January 13, Friday. Received three invoices of goods and also letters on the arrival of a steamer.

January 14, Saturday. Went riding with Melissa and Hube took my place when we returned but he did not enjoy it.

January 15, Sunday. Went to sleep in church. David McKee is going on a surveying trip.

January 16, Monday. Henry Davis, a new clerk, began work today.

Hube and I looked at \$125 rental store on Clay street. It is cheap as H. H. Bancroft & Co. are paying \$375 a month. I went to the gym.

January 17, Tuesday. Worked on the books. Read to Melissa, who gave me a lecture on kindness.

January 18, Wednesday. Worked on the books. Charles Leonard came from Sacramento to be with the firm of Hodge & Wood [importing book-sellers and stationers].

January 19, Thursday. Steamer day. Made collections all day. Hube wrote letters to country merchants to be sent out when the *Good Hope* comes in.

January 20, Friday. I am afraid I made Em and Hube both feel bad this evening because I said I thought it was very disrespectful for Hube to hold Em on his lap when I was reading in the Bible for prayers. And I think so, too, though I did not want to hurt their feelings.

January 21, Saturday. Books written up and commenced on invoices. Hube has some gentlemen downstairs and told me I had better take my papers upstairs.

January 22, Sunday. I taught two Sunday School classes and walked home with Miss Gluyas. For the first time I did not make a fool of myself.

January 23, Monday. Copied fifteen pages of invoice from Ames & Barnes. A fire last evening destroyed several buildings.

January 24, Tuesday. Called on Kenny and his wife. Kenny has not furnished his nice house and does not keep a girl.

January 25, Wednesday. I worked on the books of both Companies.

January 26, Thursday. I worked on the invoices. The Steamer *Sonora* came in. Charles Leonard is getting \$150 a month with Hodge & Wood.

January 27, Friday. Worked on the invoices. I do not know if I work too hard or not hard enough.

January 28, Saturday. Worked on H. H. Bancroft & Co's books and getting ready for a vacation. Hube has commenced a price book or catalogue with prices printed. Hube says Henry can do some of the filing so I can get away sooner.

January 29, Sunday. I like to teach girls better than boys, and Judge [Henry P.] Coon gave me a class of girls.

January 30, Monday. I worry about Melissa's eyes which pain her.

January 31, Tuesday. Hube wrote the agreement between us but we have not signed it yet. We received two invoices from Ames and Barnes on the steamer yesterday.

February 1, Wednesday. Made arrangements to rent the store from the 4th of March for \$125 a month. I made a stack of *Bancroft's California Lawyer* in the back room. It reached clear to the top of the room. Collections were difficult today and we are short of funds.

February 2, Thursday. I worked on invoices all day.

February 3, Friday. I ruled the invoice book and worked hard all day.

February 4, Saturday. Hube is renting the store from Mr. Reis' [Michael Reese] agent from March 1.

February 5, Sunday. Went to church three times and Sunday School twice.

February 6, Monday. We have taken the store on Clay Street today and paid \$67.50 for rent until March 1st. It is the best we could do without risking too much.

February 7, Tuesday. Getting bills and letterheads printed. Melissa went to Sacramento. We are taking measurements of store for shelves and counters.

February 8, Wednesday. I am getting ready to go upcountry.

February 9, Thursday. Wrote up the books and got everything square before three o'clock. Hube said my time will go on just the same while I am upcountry. He said I have worked hard and been faithful and the concern can stand a few extras. He does not praise me much but rather the other way, but what he does say counts. Off to Sacramento.

February 10, Friday. Arrived at Sacramento where I called on Murphy and Coolot.

February 11, Saturday. Having a good time in Sacramento. I visited the State Library and went to the ball game but caught a bad cold.

February 12, Sunday. I did not enjoy this day. Went to church twice but I have no good books to read.

February 13, Monday. We missed the boat to Marysville. We all went back to the house and made candy.

February 14, Tuesday. Went to Marysville en route to Bidwell's Bar.

February 15, Wednesday. We arrived at Bidwell's but found Curtis [his eldest brother] gone.

February 16, Thursday. I am worried about Melissa. We are still waiting for Curtis to return. Bidwell's Bar has no more than a dozen houses.

February 17, Friday. We went hunting. Curtis came home today. He has been teaming to Marysville. This is the first time I have seen him in twelve years.

February 18, Saturday. I received a package from Hube of printed letterheads and samples. Also received some letters from home.

February 19, Sunday. A tiresome day. Read *The Expositor* to M'liss. There is no church at Bidwell's.

February 20, Monday. Rode to Wyandot with M'liss and back. Enjoyed it.

February 21, Tuesday. Going to Marysville with Curtis and then home.

February 22, Wednesday. Arrived in Marysville. Learned of three fail-

ures in S.F. Haas & Rosenfield, one of them, owed H.H.B[ancroft]. & Co. \$300 or \$400. The ship *Napier* is in, also one or two other ships, but not the *Good Hope*.

February 23, Thursday. Left Marysville and reached Auburn. Visited Ed and Angy Hillyer.

February 24, Friday. Visiting merchants in Auburn and Folsom.

February 25, Saturday. Back to San Francisco.

February 26, Sunday. John McKee tried to get Hube to pass the plate but he would not do so.

February 27, Monday. Went to work. Hube has engaged a bookkeeper for \$150 and [Jonathan] Hunt pays one-half his wages. The store looks very nice.

February 28, Tuesday. Bought a safe and I want to buy a desk for \$25.

February 29, Wednesday. I sent the desk and safe to the store. Received an invoice from Ames & Barnes for nearly \$2,000.

March 1, Thursday. Sent all the envelopes and paper down to the store today. A clipper is in but cannot find the name of it.

March 2, Friday. I took the books to the bindery to have them lettered, and bought a coal-oil lamp for the store. I put 500 circulars in envelopes today.

March 3, Saturday. The goods came up from the *Europa*, nine cases from Ames & Barnes.

March 4, Sunday. Went to church several times.

March 5, Monday. Put circulars in envelopes, worked on books, and had books lettered.

March 6, Tuesday. Worked at HHB & Co. and will work there until the 15th when the bookkeeper will come. I will be glad to work only at the other store. I do not think it will be more pleasant but it is not very pleasant trying to work at both stores.

March 7, Wednesday. The *Good Hope* has been spoken with and I expect her.

March 8, Thursday. Opened the goods that came by the *Isthmus*. The ink came up from the *Ganges*. Hube bought a desk for his store. Hube came down today and put down some things in the Indexed Memorandum.

March 9, Friday. Went to church and got a talking to for not walking home with Mrs. Hillyer. I am so green I do not know when to offer to do anything or anything else about a lady and if things go on in this way I will never know, and so will lose a great deal of enjoyment.

March 10, Saturday. Marked paper all day.

March 11, Sunday. Church and Sunday School as usual today.

March 12, Monday. Hube says I take things too easy and do not work hard enough. He may be right but I do not see any use of putting on a long

face because the ship does not come in. When she does come I will try to get things along as fast as possible.

March 13, Tuesday. The *Good Hope* has arrived at last. The *Harry Hastings* is in, too, with Em's piano. About one-half dozen ships came in today. The *Great Republic* and *Ocean Telegraph* both left New York on the same day and both arrived today, 109 days from New York.

March 14, Wednesday. Wrote up H.H.B. & Co's. books for the last time. I suppose I marked 1,000 envelopes. I also wrote many figures. I can imagine that the figures were not very round or perfect, but they were legible.

March 15, Thursday. H.H.B's bookkeeper and boy came today. We are going to have a lot of stationery printed with the names of the principal book and stationery men on the coast.

March 16, Friday. Paid freight on the *Good Hope*. Mail steamer with letters arrived today. Mr. Kittle [of De Witt, Kittle & Co., shipping and commission merchants] dined with us.

March 17, Saturday. The *Reporter* is in with ninety-nine more cases of goods for us. All Em's silver wedding presents on her.

March 18, Sunday. Taught Sunday School twice and went to church twice. The boys behaved better. Hube did not go to church in the evening.

March 19, Monday. Sent off 3,500 circulars. Will not have to pay any eastern accounts this steamer but next steamer will have to pay \$1,200.

March 20, Tuesday. Opened goods today. Henry worked fine, but his spitting tobacco is most disagreeable.

March 21, Wednesday. Worked all day.

March 22, Thursday. The *Reporter* discharged today, and I am still opening goods. The counter arrived and also the envelopes from Raynor.

March 23, Friday. Got in most of the envelopes today. They make a nice show. Made the first cash sale today. John McKee came in. Hube is going to write 165 letters more for those printed envelopes. We received an answer to one of his letters today.

March 24, Saturday. Put all the blank books on the shelves. Most of the goods from *The Reporter* was discharged. Em's box is in good condition, all in good order. The *Andrew Jackson* came in today in eighty-nine days. This is the best time so far from New York although the *Flying Cloud* made it in eighty-nine days and some hours.

March 25, Sunday. Church as usual.

March 26, Monday. The *Robin Hood* came in and will discharge tomorrow. We received sixty cases of paper from *The Good Hope*.

March 27, Tuesday. Goods is coming in, thick and fast. Curtis arrived today. I filled two small orders but had to buy most of the goods.

March 28, Wednesday. I unpacked the showcase but found it marked up.

March 29, Thursday. Opened the doors of the store today and kept them open all day, but sold nothing.

March 30, Friday. I unpacked Ames & Barnes shipments, 7 cases of blank books, one case of diaries and other things. I had an order from S. H. Wagener & Co., but had to buy all of it.

March 31, Saturday. I signed the articles of co-partnership today.

April 1, Sunday. Feeling badly, so I did not go to church. Mrs. Kittle came to visit.

April 2, Monday. We sold about \$90 worth of goods to J. Isaac, and rec'd. an order from E. Cook of Long Bar, Yuba County.

April 3, Tuesday. We sold \$300 worth of goods today. Van Allen sent down an order of \$100. J. P. Clough left an order for J. K. Hanson of Sonora. Hibben came down from Victoria. I sent the showcase away for repair. It will cost \$20 or \$30.

April 4, Wednesday. Sent Mrs. Derby interest due on her note. Hibben will buy something before he goes back. I expect a large bill.

April 5, Thursday. Sold J. K. Hanson \$267.

April 6, Friday. Writing this diary is a bore. I am too tired at night to make sense.

April 7, Saturday. Prayer meeting today. I spoke and Hube prayed.

April 8, Sunday. Dr. Scott is going East. They took up a collection to pay his expenses but I do not think they got much.

April 9, Monday. Went to see the Japanese goods on exhibit at the Music Academy. The giant was a fake.

April 10, Tuesday. I did not feel well today. All the goods came up from the ship today.

April 11, Wednesday. Sold Hibben about \$1,000 worth of goods. Rec'd. an order from L. E. Stockman. Dr. and Mrs. Scott are coming to dinner tomorrow and so is Mr. [Andrew J.] Moulder [state sup't. of public instruction].

April 12, Thursday. Henry Davis left today.

April 13, Friday. The Pony Express came in today from St. Louis. Hube is sick.

April 14, Saturday. Hube feels better. Saw Reese [Gluyas] about taking Henry's place in the store.

April 15, Sunday. The church was full as Dr. Scott is leaving tomorrow by Overland stage. Dr. [George] Burrows [Burrowes] will fill his place.

April 16, Monday. Hube and I decided to let Henry try to keep his job a little longer. I did not go to the store this evening. Hube says I will never succeed if I am not quicker and do not put in my time to better advantage. He talked to me like this because I had been so busy with Hibben that I had not filled two orders we received the other day.

April 17, Tuesday. Only sold \$50 worth of goods today and received no orders. Cleared H & C's goods and got their bills of lading signed. Governor Downey vetoed the Bulkhead bill to the joy of the *Bulletin* and the citizens of San Francisco, and especially of the importers.

April 18, Wednesday. Received a long letter from Liss. She seems to be enjoying herself. She is in Oroville with a friend of Louisa's. I sold about \$50 worth of goods. We are getting things pretty well fixed up at the store now.

April 19, Thursday. I had Henry commence on the samples. We have to make up one thousand packages. Sent A & B \$350.

April 20, Friday. Henry Davis said that I should get someone to take his place as soon as possible. I got Reese Gluyas to take his place. He writes a better hand and I think he will do as well or better than Henry for \$25 less.

April 21, Saturday. Charles Wittram led the meeting this eve. I do not think he did very well. Mr. [James D.] Thornton was there and proposed we elect four persons to lead the meeting and we did: Dr. Lind, John McKee, Hube, and Mr. Walker. I had one vote, put in by Fred.

April 22, Sunday. Church and Sunday School as usual.

April 23, Monday. We received only one small order this morning. Times are very dull. Hube says he does not think they have sold that much, as the amount of our sale was \$70. Reese and I are working on the samples. He does very well, better than Henry. Hube is not feeling well. He took some blue pills yesterday and today he was not at lunch, or at the store, and I do not think he was much at his store either.

April 24, Tuesday. Did not receive a single letter today and sold only \$30.50 of goods and that is nearly as much as H.H.B. & Co. has done. Times are nearly as dull as during the Fraser River excitement. Business of all kinds is dull.

April 25, Wednesday. We received a small order from A. Coolot and a very small one from Loewy Bros. S. Murphy is down, too. He talks about ten per cent off of our prices but I do not think it will do unless he buys a great deal more. The ship, *John Stuart*, came in a few days ago. We have some writing paper on her but I do not need it much.

April 26, Thursday. We sent about \$375 worth of goods to Rettel in Carson City and besides that we sold about \$30. Reese gave me the most beautiful bouquet I ever saw to give to Em.

April 27, Friday. Business is getting worse all the time. We did not sell \$25 worth of goods all day. Carl is talking about buying \$2,500 worth of goods. I received a ream of paper, and letters from home. I bought some ice cream, oranges and candy. We had a good time eating them but did not feel so well afterward. Hube and Em have been married six months today.

April 28, Saturday. Sold about \$230 worth of goods. The steamer came

in about noon. Em's friends, the Burneys came on her and as usual had a hard time. Business generally is very dull and slow.

April 29, Sunday. Rev. Dr. [Sylvester] Woodbridge preached today. I went to church, twice, twice to Sunday School, and also to prayer meeting. Mr. and Mrs. Burney called so Em and Hube did not go this eve. I must send Liss some money this week and get up early, and get to work early.

April 30, Monday. Sold A. R. Flint \$123 worth of goods. Our paper all came up from the *Sea Nymph* and from the *John Stuart*. The last is wrapping paper from W. H. Parsons & Co. The first is writing paper. We have sold about \$5,000 worth of goods this month. It is more than I expected, by a great deal. I thought it was about \$3,000, at the most \$3,500.

May 1, Tuesday. Governor Downey came down by the Sacramento steamer tonight and some of the legislators who voted against the Bulkhead bill came down with him. The citizens of San Francisco had a grand time. They fired off cannon and fireworks and paraded through the streets. A great many of the houses were illuminated. They had a very beautiful temple on Montgomery and California streets.

May 2, Wednesday. Sold about \$500 worth of goods today, most to Messrs. Harg & Kennedy of Torch Hill. I have had three other men around who are going to buy. I caught cold and went home early, where I found Em at work on Hube's slippers. They are to be done by the 5th of this month, Hube's birthday.

May 3, Thursday. There were three or four new customers today. We sold \$1,200 worth of goods. I have a cold, and do not think it wise to work as late as I have been doing. I went home at nine o'clock.

May 4, Friday. Sold about \$450 worth of goods, and packed six cases. Sent A & B \$1,000. Mr. and Mrs. Burney came to dinner. It is hard to write in this book every day but I will keep it up for one year even if it is a bore.

May 5, Saturday. Business was dull today and only sold about \$35 worth of goods. The Japanese gave us a call. They wanted a compass. They showed me a paper with Tennent on it so I suppose they wanted to get a compass. There were about a dozen of them.

May 6, Sunday. Dr. Alexander Scott preached twice. Hube and Em did not go to Dr. Scott's church. One row would have held all the people there. We had soup, cold peas, and cornstarch for dinner and that was all. I think it is the best kind of dinner on Sunday. I did not feel at all sleepy on account of it.

May 7, Monday. I bought some boots instead of having them made and they are too tight. Covered the books with oilcloth, which saved \$2.00 or \$3.00 per book of what the binder charges.

May 8, Tuesday. We shipped a lot of goods to a man who I think is doubtful about paying for them. His name is James A. Thomas at Attitewa

or Fort Jones, the name of the Post Office is Attitiewa. Mr. A. J. Simpson is down from Oroville. We received a letter from Liss and one from Celia to her, who says that Father has sold his lot.

May 9, Wednesday. I folded six reams of paper and marked two. I sold A. G. Simpson about \$200 worth of goods. Hube thinks of getting one thousand more names printed on envelopes and then we will have to send samples to all of them and send two or three circulars off in each one of them and write a letter.

May 10, Thursday. Business was very dull. We sold about \$20 worth of goods in all. Hube has dismissed their bookkeeper and intends to do all the writing himself. We are going to have the names printed on the envelopes and that means a long hard job for Reese and me. Hube and Em went to hear Starr King lecture but did not like it much.

May 11, Friday. Talk about business will you? I have not seen any for two days, and sold only about \$13 worth of goods. It is nearly as bad with everybody. Hube and Em had their picture taken to send home. I think I will have to get mine taken but I do not know until I see it if I will send it. Hube has been working on the catalogue.

May 12, Saturday. Worked hard and had a good exercise at the gymnasium.

May 13, Sunday. Dr. Woodbridge preached, and communion was held. No person joined the church but when Dr. Scott preaches there are always some who do. After Sunday School I walked out to South Park with Miss Gluyas. She was going to stay with a friend. She overtook me, and that was the way of it. She said she wished my sister would come back so she and her Aunty could call on her. Mr. G. called on Em.

May 14, Monday. Tonight I marked, looked over, priced, and put away 1,200 envelopes in three and one-half hours, which I think is quick work. There were 12,000 letters and figures together so it would average one a second the whole time. We sold about \$80 worth of goods today. Mr. Huss was down and made a great fuss about the letters Hube wrote.

May 15, Tuesday. My birthday today. I am nineteen years old. I had my picture taken to send to Em. Reese and I went to hear Starr King lecture. The subject was Socrates and I liked it very much. We sold a lot of damaged paper and blank books for \$157, and also sold about \$25 worth of goods besides to Buswell. Hube did not like the idea of my going to the lecture with Reese. He says I should keep him at a distance. I think to get anyone to please him he would have to be made to order and then he would not quite do.

May 16, Wednesday. Received an order from Hibben but had to buy most of it. L. C. Van Allen came down on the boat last night. I went to church, and Hube and Em started to go, too, but backed out and went over to Swain's where they enjoyed ice cream, cakes and candy.

May 17, Thursday. I have finished marking samples and sold one bill for \$60 for which I expect to get cash tomorrow. Reese sent Em a very nice bouquet. Michael Reese has been around to see Hube again about those boxes and Hube wants me to get them away.

May 18, Friday. I lost my ticket to the Starr King lecture. I am very sorry about it because I wanted to hear the other lecture but I cannot afford to buy another ticket. Still, I always seem able to afford oranges and candy for Em and then I help her eat them. I must stop that and make some money.

May 19, Saturday. Coming home from meeting Hube said he had something to say to me. It turned out to be that he expected me to promise not to get married until I am twenty-five years old. I agreed—not to get married until I am twenty-five years old without Hube's consent—the promise not to stand in case he should die. I thought I would put it down just as it is now while it is fresh in my mind, so I can see what I have promised to do. I thought it rather funny that he should want anything of the kind.

May 20, Sunday. Mr. [Augustus W.] Loomis, a missionary to the Chinese in California, preached this morning. Mr. Reed led the singing and made many mistakes. He was the principal singer. Dr. Scott's Sunday School is going on an excursion. I went to the last one and got a bad case of poison oak.

May 21, Monday. Received a letter from M'liss and wrote to her. We have been cleaning the cellar and have taken care of Mr. Reese's doors, about which he made such a fuss. I wish he would take them away. Hube talked to me a while after dinner. He seems to think that I amount to more than I thought I did, and he thinks the business worth a great deal. He says I can make it and myself just what I please.

May 22, Tuesday. It has been raining nearly all day. This is very late to have such a rain as this. We sold about \$200 worth of goods. In the evening we marked 1,025 envelopes and stopped at the express office. An order came in from A. Coolot for a lot of schoolbooks which we will have to buy. Out of the lot we will sell about \$150 worth of goods and have an hour's work to pack the other things.

May 23, Wednesday. It has been raining nearly all day. The steamer *Cortes* from up the coast came in today. There has been a large fire in Crescent City, but Hube's building was not damaged. If the wind had changed, however, things would have been different. We sold about \$150 worth of goods today and marked envelopes. I think we will finish them this week if business is not very good, and if it is we can afford to wait.

May 24, Thursday. Still raining today. We have marked nearly all of the envelopes, all but three boxes, and those will be done tomorrow. Then we will have to mark the paper, write about one thousand letters, and send off catalogues and circulars. After that I think we can stay at home a few evenings. I have spent only one evening at home since I opened my store and

then Hube gave me a regular blowing up for it one-half hour long.

May 25, Friday. Em and Hube have made up their minds to take a ride around the bay with Mr. and Mrs. Kittle. There is going to be a concert at the Academy of Music on Monday evening and I am going. I will try to get up spunk enough to ask some girl to go with me—May be! Business is dull, sold about \$50 worth of goods.

May 26, Saturday. Hube saw Mr. Kittle today. He thought it was too wet to go around the bay on Monday. He did not think it was a good idea for me to ask Miss G. to go to the concert with me, so I am not going to do so. I will not ask anyone, I guess, except Fred or someone else—no female.

May 27, Sunday. A gentleman from Napa preached today. I have forgotten his name. There are twenty new scholars at the Mission Sunday School. The steamer came in about eight o'clock.

May 28, Monday. Ames and Barnes sent their statement which amounted to over \$16,000, in their favor. I did not receive an order this morning. The steamer *Panama* came in today. I received \$300 by her and an order from H & C, but I will have to buy almost everything to fill it. I expect some more by mail.

May 29, Tuesday. The weather has cleared up cold and I have taken a very bad cold. My throat is sore, and I suppose I got it by sleeping with the window open. We received over \$500 by the *Panama* from up the coast.

May 30, Wednesday. I ran all over town picked up H & C's order. Brooks came down from Auburn. I sold him between \$400 and \$500 worth of goods. Tomorrow I will be very busy charging these two orders and fixing up accounts. We have about \$1,200 on hand, and must send A & B \$1,000 by the next overland mail. Reese gave me a nice bouquet but I forgot to take it home with me.

May 31, Thursday. We packed and shipped Brooks's goods. His bill amounted to \$450. We sold H. Coats \$50 worth of goods, one-half cash, balance ninety days. H & C's goods are all packed and I will send them tomorrow.

June 1, Friday. Sent A & B \$1,000, and had \$168 on hand at night. I opened out Blank Books today. Three cases of cards came up from the ship today. I bought a pound of molasses candy for my cold. We have put up another sign in front of the store, a printed one which can be seen from Montgomery and Sansome streets. It will cost \$5.

June 2, Saturday. I sold \$145 worth of goods and paid twenty-five cents for spraying the street. It has been the dullest day since we opened. I am half-sick with a cold and missed prayer meeting for the first time.

June 3, Sunday. I feel better today. Mr. Fitzpatrick preached in the morning and Mr. Birel in the evening. I did not go to sleep in church but Em says I had my eyes shut. There were seven asleep and I think Judge Coon was one of them.

June 4, Monday. I have been busy filling some small orders that did not amount to much. Sold in all about \$9 worth. Feeling very poorly.

June 5, Tuesday. Mr. Reed brought me 987 tickets to endorse and sell. Must keep an accounting. Mr. Wicks is down—did not buy much but says he will send in an order. My cough is no better tonight. We will be through with the samples this week, I hope, and the time will come when I can go to bed at ten o'clock.

June 6, Wednesday. Received two orders and sold in all about \$200 worth. This month so far we have not made half enough to pay expenses. Liss sent a letter. She thinks of staying about a month longer. Fanny Howe thinks she can go up to Bidwell's Bar and both go to Auburn and then Liss will come home.

June 7, Thursday. Tomorrow Mr. and Mrs. [Edward S.] Lacy will dine here at five o'clock, and Em says I must be here at that time. I am thinking seriously of going calling on the Gluyases but do not know whether I can scrape up courage enough to do so or not. We have been very busy today but sold about \$100 worth of goods. That pays expenses and I am satisfied to work hard if I can do that every day.

June 8, Friday. I planned to call on Miss Gluyas and her aunt. It does not seem so an awful thing for a person to go calling if he has common sense which I think is very doubtful about myself sometimes. Hube went horse-back riding, and after dinner I went down to the stable and down on Battery Street. As I was turning the horse around he fell down on his side, but neither the horse nor I was hurt much.

June 9, Saturday. The ship *Carrier Dove* came in yesterday. We have sixty-two cases on her. We have been making room for them. We have two more reams of paper to mark before we are through. I sold over \$1,005 worth of goods today, and had two lady customers who bought two sheets of gold paper. At the gymnasium I put up eight-six pounds weight tonight with each hand, the first time I tried it, but I was late to prayer meeting. Dr. [Chester S.] Lyman talked.

June 10, Sunday. I did not go to Church but will try to get to bed early. Em has been reading the life of McCheene. He was a very good man and did a great deal of good in Scotland. I wish I was more like him. I wish I felt Christ's Love more in my heart and loved Him more.

June 11, Monday. Sold about \$25 worth of goods today. We did not receive an order or letter. We have been folding catalogues and circulars and putting them in envelopes. I think we will have one lot ready tomorrow. It will consist of a printed envelope, a catalogue, and a small circular. The postage will be about \$120 for the whole lot.

June 12, Tuesday. We all went to the concert in aid of St. Paul's this evening. Em made remarks about the performers. Hube took out the list of payments and looked over that until Em took it away and then he took out

his memo book and examined the list of expenses for this month, and once when Mad. Biscaccianti [the "American Thrush"] was singing, he thought she wanted some help and so he pitched in and let his voice unite with hers. He did not like the performance—so he said.

June 13, Wednesday. About thirty cases came up from the *Carrier Dove*. We worked until after eleven opening them and I left the store in a perfect jam. We sent off another lot of printed envelopes and catalogues to our friends, and that will have to do for a while as we have something else to do besides sending off packages.

June 14, Thursday. I thought I was not having enough sleep to digest my food, and came home early, but picked up *Harper Magazine* and read until twelve o'clock, so I will not have a great deal of time for sleep anyway. Sold enough today to pay expenses. Mr. and Mrs. Burney came down from Sacramento on Tuesday.

June 15, Friday. Sold about \$150 worth of goods today. One man brought in a catalogue yesterday. I hope we will hear from more of them soon. We will move the twelve cases of envelopes to the basement as we now have a good assortment up here. Hube has been counting Raynor's goods.

June 16, Saturday. We took account of the paper and finished the envelopes today. This morning Hube was talking about making room for sixteen cases of envelopes on the shelves and I told him he was not making sense. He did not seem to like it very much. He talks sometimes and says things that have no sense in them, I think, and he finds fault with me from principle. If a thing was done one way he would want it the opposite way.

June 17, Sunday. A gentleman from Petaluma preached today. I did not want to go to the Mission Sunday School but went anyway. It was not so bad as the worst boy was not there and the others showed a little interest. If I could only interest my scholars and do them good I would go with pleasure, but I am afraid I do not.

June 18, Monday. I have been at work on the Const. a/c's. and got one of them made out. Lee Manuf. Co.—we have to send them about \$1,900 and I suppose A & B about as much more, and Raynor about \$600 or \$800. Reese has been at work arranging the store. Caswell came down from Victoria today. He is going to Scotland about some money that was left him there. If he would keep out of whisky shops and let liquor alone he would be a great deal better off.

June 19, Tuesday. I stopped at Tucker's Academy of Music on my way home tonight. I thought I would wait until the people came out to see who attended such places. The Negro Minstrels are performing there. And then I thought I would go upstairs and see if it was nearly out, and so I went up. There was no doorkeeper and I went in. I got enough of it. After this I will keep away. We sent A & B \$1,900—\$1,000 of it came from HHB & Co.

June 20, Wednesday. We have sold about \$1,956 worth of O'Hara's

goods and paid him \$700. We will have about \$3,000 to pay next month and I do not know where the money is coming from to do it with. I am thinking of joining the Olympic Club, that is if I do not get Black Balled. Sam Middleton's name was proposed by someone this evening and he got five blackballs. I was up at the St. Francis Hotel where they met tonight. They have seventy-four members.

June 21, Thursday. I made out Raynor's account today. We have to pay him \$664 besides the \$200 which we sent the first of June. Hube had the blues when I came home to dinner, as he generally does when the dinner is not good. Em was homesick, so it was perfectly lovely here. But I have no cause to complain for everything is as pleasant as it can be in this world, if I can get \$3,000 to pay my debts next month.

June 22, Friday. I have been writing up the books. It will take me all day tomorrow to finish the job. Our payments next month are about \$300, most of it due on the first day. Cash on hand tonight is \$125. That will not make much of an impression on it but every little helps. Next quarter will be heavier than this one, as one of Ames & Barnes bills of over \$3,000 comes due on the same steamer as those of the Const. a/cs.

June 23, Saturday. We have to take a/c of Ames & Barnes books and pay for what we have sold, so that we can have the privilege of not paying for them any faster than we do sell them. I do not feel well. Had a letter from M'liss. She is running all around the country.

June 24, Sunday. I have not been feeling well so did not go to church but did go to Sunday School twice. Em and Hube went twice to hear Dr. Woodbridge. Mary, our girl, left today. She went down to the Catholic Church on Market Street, and there threw herself away to a *Gentleman*, who asked her for money to pay for crockery, which he told her to pick out, so they could commence keeping house. She did as he requested.

June 25, Monday. Em has my copy of the *Arabian Nights*, so I cannot fool around and must get to work. I read in the newspapers about the laying of the cornerstone of the new Masonic Lodge at the corner of Post & Montgomery streets. Hube has been taking account of Ames & Barnes goods today. It is a long job but he thinks we will get done this week. After this the steamer leaves on the 1st, 5th and 20th of each month.

June 26, Tuesday. I must write to Em, "our Mrs. Emily," as Em. K. B. calls her. Sold about \$100 worth of goods, about \$50 to Carl & Flint at 40% on sixty days. We are nearly through with A. & B.'s stock upstairs. Will finish tomorrow.

June 27, Wednesday. I wish this book was in Halifax or some other place where I would not have to write in it. I am writing nothing that I would read again and it is a regular bore. But I will try to keep it up for one year. Last night I sat up until two o'clock reading in *The Mill on the Floss* [George Eliot's book had just been published] and now I am going to finish it.

June 28, Thursday. This morning it is either raining or there is a very heavy fog. The steamer *Sonora* came in from Panama. We received some letters from home. Everything is about the same there but it will not be so when Celia goes to Buffalo which she is going to do this spring, I believe. I have not been feeling so well tonight.

June 29, Friday. In coming from the store tonight I overtook Miss Gluyas and her brother and her aunt. Em and Hube do not like the family at all. But you, or anyone else, could hardly find the family they would like. I do not exactly like their ways about a great many things but there are some I do like. Reese does very well when I can get him interested in his work, but when he is alone he gets a little lazy and sleepy—just like me.

June 30, Saturday. We have sold \$2,415 worth of goods this month that will nearly pay expenses. Some of the goods we sold very cheap. We have \$500 on hand but will have to pay \$300 on Monday. I have not finished Ames & Barnes Const. a/c. yet. Reese worked on it today while I wrote up the books and made out bills and sent them off. Hube, Em and I all went out and saw the comet this evening.

July 1, Sunday. Mr. Loomis preached this morning and it was monthly concert in the evening. I guess Fred is not feeling well. He went out of Sunday School this morning and was not at the concert. We all went to the store to see if he was sick but there was no light on. I knocked, but could not raise anyone. Dr. Scott will be home by the middle of next month and then we will have a larger attendance at church.

July 2, Monday. Fred told me today they had news that Vanderbilt had refused to carry the mails and that there were to be six daily mails each, three by the central route, four carrying papers, and as many more by the southern for the letters. H.H. B. & Co. sold \$1,300 worth of law books. The man paid \$900 cash for them. Hube said he had his cash a/c all posted, and the books all written up tonight before he left the store, and sent \$2,000 East.

July 3, Tuesday. Em and Hube think of going on a boat ride tomorrow. Mr. Miller of the Custom House and someone else will take a revenue cutter and go over to some of the islands and stay until about six o'clock. I suppose Uncle Sam will stand the expense. Kenny is going. 'Cause why? It costs nothing. The Sunday School, and everyone, is going to have a great time tomorrow I suppose.

July 4, Wednesday. I went down to the store before Hube and Em were downstairs. Filled an order and let Reese off, then worked a while. Later I went to Washington Square and saw the military review and then returned to the store where I worked a while longer. Then I went home, but no one was there. I found some cookies and raspberries and ate what I wanted. Hube and Em went on the excursion and had a nice time.

July 5, Thursday. Em read a letter from Liss saying she was coming home at last. She will come home on Tuesday, I think. I worked untill

eleven-thirty making up Ames & Barnes const. a/c. We have to pay them \$1,876, I think. The ship, *David Crockett* is in from N. Y.—125 days. We have about twenty-five boxes on her.

July 6, Friday. H.H. B. & Co. paid us \$4,000 and we sent east by overland mail over \$4,300. We have received all but \$1,000 from H.H.B. & Co. and have to pay—if we pay all of Ames & Barnes' bill when due—about \$1,500 in the next nine months. In the evening we all went to a concert at the Mechanics Pavillion. Hube and I carried Em up Rincon Hill on a "chair" made by our hands.

July 7, Saturday. Business was dull today. We sold about \$20 worth of goods. Had a fine exercise at the gym and paid a visit to the barber to have my hair cut which made me feel like a new person. I wish this book was in Halifax or somewhere so I would never write in it again.

July 8, Sunday. Dr. Woodbridge preached today for the last time, I hope. We expect Dr. Scott back by next Sunday on the next steamer, which is due before then. Liss will be back by that time, too. I hope she will not have the blues as badly as she did before she went upcountry. I must try to make things pleasant for her and keep her busy at something or other.

July 9, Monday. Hube and Em are going to Sacramento on Wednesday and coming back with Liss on Friday. They thought of going to Auburn at first but gave that up from some cause unknown to me. They are going to leave me here alone. I sold about \$10 worth of goods today.

July 10, Tuesday. The store is in a regular mess. We have been opening ten cases of envelopes and will have to make a stack of them by the door. We commenced it today and piled up 250,000.

July 11, Wednesday. I sold Adelsdorfer Bros. three cases of paper today, the largest sale I ever made of one item (\$227.56). Em and Hube went to Sacramento this afternoon to meet Liss. We have piled the envelopes to the top of the door but will not have room enough for all of them.

July 12, Thursday. The steamer is in and Dr. Scott has arrived in safety, so Reed says. I have not seen him. We got the envelopes all stacked, 603,000 of them. I went to St. Paul's this evening to help them number the books. I worked until ten o'clock and then came home.

July 13, Friday. Liss, Em and Hube all came home on the boat tonight. I went to meet them, and found them all right side up. Reese and I have been at work clearing the store. We have emptied all the cases and put up all the paper, but it will take some time to put all the stationery away. All the shelves are full.

July 14, Saturday. Sent off three or four orders for goods and worked the rest of the time putting away goods. Next week I will have to work at the books.

July 15, Sunday. Dr. Scott preached today. It seems fine to have him back. The church was crowded, as could be expected. Dr. Burrow[e]s

wrote a hymn and the choir sang it before church in the morning to welcome our pastor home. I did not hear much of it but did not like the singing. It was a kind of a solo and Mr. Hoution [?] sang the prominent part. The other singing was first rate.

July 16, Monday. Liss and I went to the Panorama of California. It was a very nice painting and it was very long. It made my head ache to look at it and I am afraid the artist's head ached many times before he finished it. I hope he will make a fortune. Business has been very dull. I sold about \$10 worth of goods.

July 17, Tuesday. I have been at work on Dr. Johnson's order for part of the day. His bill will be about \$1,000. My private cash is twenty-five cents short. What has become of it I would like to know. I guess I will find it before long if I think hard enough. I must get up at four forty-five A.M. to see the eclipse of the sun.

July 18, Wednesday. I have been at work all day on Dr. Johnson's order. We have packed about \$1,150 worth with charges and have to put in the Blank Books yet and that will be at least \$150 more. Reese did not come down this evening so I worked a while and then went to the Olympic Club and exercised, although I have not been elected a member yet. I expect to be elected on the 5th of next month.

July 19, Thursday. We have finished Dr. Johnson's goods at last. The bill amounts to \$1,390.48. He is to make payments as quickly as he sells the goods until December 1, when he pays one-half the balance and January 1, 1861, when he will pay the balance. H. H. B. & Co. sold the Doctor over \$1,100 worth of books. I received a letter from Father and Mother. Father's letter is full of politics and Mother's full of love. They are good, even if they are old fashioned. They are my parents and I must love and honor them.

July 20, Friday. Business is very dull. Have sold about \$50 worth of goods. I have been at work on the books. I did not go down to the store this evening but read the new book [*El Fureidis*] by the author [Maria Cummins] of *The Lamplighter* to Liss. Mr. Burney called. He and Mrs. Burney are staying at Warm Springs for his health. Strawberries are down to ten cents.

July 21, Saturday. I had a first rate exercise at the gym today. I only go about once a week but I perform better than if I went every day. After prayer meeting I took Hube up to the new gymnasium. We elected Mr. Fisher, Mr. Wm. Hoffman, Mr. Chas. Wittram, and Mr. Cameron to lead the meetings. I had two votes this evening. If it keeps on I will be elected in about six years—maybe.

July 22, Sunday. Dr. Scott preached twice. We all sat in the pew. Mr. Davis went home on the steamer yesterday so we have it all to ourselves, that is, when we get there early. If we get there late we generally find some one in there. We came up First Street in the evening and Em gave Hube a

push into one of the many whisky shops on that street, and he started right in but she gave him a pull out very quickly.

July 23, Monday. We shipped Dr. Johnson's goods. There were twenty-three packages in all. Reese worked downstairs cleaning up and got things pretty well straightened out. It took him all day. He was so tired I told him he did not have to come down after dinner. I read to Liss. Hube brought up a copy of Blackstone and commenced reading that.

July 24, Tuesday. Liss and I went to a concert given by Mad. Lucy Escott, Mad. Kamerer Schegerle, Henry Squires and J. de Hugh. No. 1 is a Yankee girl, vain, proud and very disagreeable. No. 2 is a sweet little Italian lady. She puts on no airs nor hoops either, and I think she sings better than No. 1. No. 3 is an American *Gentleman* and has the finest voice I ever heard from a man. No. 4 is a good singer, a bass voice. The chorus of the opera troupe assisted, so the programme said, but I did not like their music.

July 25, Wednesday. I have not been down to the store one evening this week yet. I commenced reading [George] Bancroft's *History of the United States* aloud to Liss and I am going to keep it up until I get interested in it.

July 26, Thursday. Business has been so dull for a while it has made me very lazy. I have been trying to get the books written up but somehow I cannot get at it with a will. Tomorrow, however, I have made up my mind they must be written up. I wrote a letter to Mother and Father and actually sent it. On my way home I got some soda water, the first I have ever tasted.

July 27, Friday. Mr. Cooper is boring Liss to death. Now he is telling her about a book he has read about Love & Co. She will not speak to him in the street or anywhere else but he has not sense enough to stay away. He is a little the biggest fool I ever came across . . . a little worse than I am. Once upon a time I thought I was the biggest fool, but when I saw him I took courage, for I think he is the greatest.

July 28, Saturday. Liss went to the rehearsal of the choir of Dr. Scott's church with Mr. Hoution. I went to the San Francisco Olympic Club and took a bath and then went to Mrs. Hoution's for her, but she had not come there yet. I walked back and met her and Mr. Hoution and Miss Middleton and she gave me an introduction. The Middletons have moved into their new house near here.

July 29, Sunday. Went to church and Sunday School. After dinner I went upstairs and fell asleep. Liss and Em tried to wake me but did not succeed although Em threw two doses of water on me.

July 30, Monday. Stayed in bed until five forty-five A.M. and did not write in this book until then. Received several letters but they did not amount to much. J. E. White has finally made an assignment to the agent of W. I. & Co. Hube thinks it is a regular swindle. The samples are nearly tied up and ready to send away.

July 31, Tuesday. Sold \$3,392 worth of goods this month, which will

be a little more than needed to pay expenses. We have paid our expenses so far and some months a little more. But there are so many more bankruptcies now that it will take all the profits. One man I heard of today sold out and left. He owed us \$55.50 and I expect to hear of more before long. In the evening I went with Liss to see the Japanese things.

August 1, Wednesday. Went to the Olympic Club this evening. A. Turner came over to be the leader of our class. I liked him much better than I do Nahl. He watches to see that no one gets hurt.

August 2, Thursday. Sold about \$15 worth of goods today. Yesterday I bought some Japanese things and this evening Hube thought they were very foolish and gave me a lecture on economy. The things I bought were a jewel box and a porcelain cup, very thin, and of no use, but very curious. He bought a set of nest stands and two porcelain bowls for Em. The stands are Chinese. I turned a handspring for the first time today.

August 3, Friday. Business is dull as usual. Hube has sold his house in Crescent City for \$2,500. The last steamer brought \$1,500 and the balance came today. We received an order from Oregon for the Columbia, the first we received this week. There are a great many failures in the country now. One or two firms, which owed H.H.B. & Co., did not exactly fail today but I expect it will be the next thing we hear. They sell out and leave without saying anything.

August 4, Saturday. Mr. Hoffman led the prayer meeting tonight. Wright read the expression "a band of little sinners" for the second time in his prayer. The first time I heard it I felt very much like laughing but this time it was plain that he had no more sense. He is a good boy and I think he feels the Love of Christ but he puts on a good many airs or else he does not know any better than to use such expressions as he does.

August 5, Sunday. Went to church and this was Communion Sunday. I did not fall asleep. Dr. Scott spoke on the beheading of John the Baptist. Eleven joined the church; none I knew except Mr. Wright.

August 6, Monday. Hube gave me two tickets to the inauguration concert of the new Music Hall. Hube and Em both went. It was a very nice affair. We walked down in the fog and the wind and sat there for over three hours and if we had to do it to go to church we would think it was awful.

August 7, Tuesday. Business is so dull that I am getting lazy. I have had nothing to do for two or three days. We had an order from Hibben & Caswell, but we had to buy most of it. It will be the first box to go out of this store this month.

August 8, Wednesday. Sold \$130 worth of goods today. It is the largest sale we have made this month and about as much as the rest will amount to. We sell more paper bags than anything else, but do not make anything on them. Brooks and everyone else is out of all but one or two sizes so that is the reason we sell them.

August 9, Thursday. Con Howe came into the store very unexpectedly this morning. He has come down on a law case and will stay until Saturday. I cannot have him at the house, however, as Hube and Em do not like him, although Liss and I stayed there for three or four days, and now I cannot ask him here. I think we had better not go anywhere any more.

August 10, Friday. I asked Con up to dinner tonight after speaking to Hube about it. He said I could, but neither he nor Em treated him with common decency. When Em came downstairs she did not even speak to him. I think it is the last time I will take dinner with anyone or stop overnight at anyone's house until I can return the compliment or favor.

August 11, Saturday. Sent orders for stationery and card stock. They will go by overland mail on Monday. Will Gunn and Martin Gugenhayen were at prayer meeting tonight. I am trying to get Reese to go but do not know how I will succeed. I am afraid he will not go but I will do my best.

August 12, Sunday. Did not go to evening prayer meeting.

August 13, Monday. Went with Liss to the meeting of the Sunday School Union this evening. We stopped and picked up Fred. We went to Swain's for some ice cream. I did not like it much, and to tell the truth do not think any of us did. The steamer came in this morning with the mail. Business is very dull.

August 14, Tuesday. I have a great notion to burn this book. It contains nothing worth writing. Next January I will take a memorandum book and when I have anything to say that amounts to anything I will put it down. I will make it worth something, or at least try to do so. I have been quite busy today for the first time in quite a while.

August 15, Wednesday. Our payments for this month are all made. On the 10th of next month we will have to pay about \$2,500. Hube now has \$6,000 of his money in our concern and we pay him one per cent interest on it on the 1st of every month. He has sold his house in Crescent City for \$2,500 and put that money in the business. We are going to publish a Handbook for the Pacific Coast, or at least we intend to do so.

August 16, Thursday. A few days ago we took Knight into partnership with us on the Handbook, and today he bought a desk and had it sent to the store. We are to pay for it and charge it to the book. He is to have one-half interest in the book. Reese had a sick headache today and I am half-sick myself.

August 17, Friday. Liss and I went to the Old Folks Concert at the new Music Hall. It was very crowded and I stood up all evening. Liss sat with Mrs. Burney and Mrs. Latham. Saw Kelsey there. He is all tan and looked first rate. He had a lady with him. I sold about \$100 worth of goods and paid expenses.

August 18, Saturday. Kelsey was in the store two or three times to see me but once I was out and the other times so busy I could not speak to him.

I spoke to Reese about going to prayer meeting. He said he had no objection and tonight he was there. He did not seem to enjoy it at all, however, but seemed to think it was a bore. I do hope he will continue.

August 19, Sunday. Went to church as usual and went to sleep as usual.

August 20, Monday. Business has been pretty good today. Sold Curl \$250 worth of goods.

August 21, Tuesday. Born in this city August 21 to the wife of H. H. Bancroft a daughter, Kate Ketchum Bancroft by name. Weight nine pounds.

August 22, Wednesday. I invested \$9 in a napkin ring for Kate today and made her a present of it before she was two days old. It is the heaviest one I could find in town and will last a lifetime.

August 23, Thursday. Sold L. C. Van Allen \$450 worth of Blank Books at about forty per cent. The new baby takes up so much room I have to sleep downtown.

August 24, Friday. Nothing to write about today.

August 25, Saturday. Commenced to write up the books but did not have time to finish before I had to run all around town to get Kate's napkin ring marked: Kate Ketchum Bancroft, Tuesday, August 21, San Francisco, half past four o'clock A.M.

August 26, Sunday. Dr. Scott commenced a series of discourses on the Book of Jonah. Judge Coon gave me a class last Sunday and I have left John McKee's class.

August 27, Monday. Thirteen cases of envelopes came up from the B. F. Hoxie. I am pretty nearly out of room now and will put these downstairs, or nearly all of them. Sent A & B \$1,000.

August 28, Tuesday. Reese opened all of the envelopes and marked them. Sold no goods of any account.

August 29, Wednesday. Hube thinks I had better go down to the store and work evenings, and if I have nothing to do make work. So I went down this evening and worked until eight-thirty and then went to the gym.

August 30, Thursday. Nothing to write about today.

August 31, Friday. Liss and I went to call on Miss Fessenden and Miss Clark and her mother. Had a pleasant time.

September 1, Saturday. I have been very busy today and did not get all my a/cs. squared up. We have received our diaries and are sending samples all over the country, and that will take most of them. Kate is not very well.

September 2-5. [No entries.]

September 6, Thursday. Went with Liss to attend the dramatic reading by "Caxton" at the Academy of Music. Caxton is an acquaintance of Liss who lives in Oroville. She thought it was very nice, and I liked it pretty well. Em says she thinks Kate is pretty!!!

[Title leaf]

ALBERT L. BANCROFT

San Francisco, California

[1861]

United States of America—perhaps—we are united and perhaps we are not. That has not been decided yet. March 28, A.D. 1861.

San Francisco, March 28. It has been some time since I have kept a diary. When I did keep one it got to be a regular “bore” having to write in it every day so now I am going to try it on another plan—write when I feel like it and write as much as I want to and no more. Since I last wrote in one some changes have taken place which it may be as well to note down.

The most important one is the change in H H B & Co’s establishment. Hube intended to go “home”—that is east—sometime last Jan., but his plans were all knocked in the head by Kenny giving him notice that he was going to withdraw from the concern the first of July next. They have since agreed to separate three mos. sooner—that would make it the first of April—but Kenny is to have to the 15th of April to get his things out.

They are going to divide the stock and settle up the affairs of the old concern and Hube is to stay in the store where he is now and Kenny has rented and is fixing up one on the opposite side of Montgomery Street and nearly opposite HHB & Co.

Hube is to keep the goods on consignment. He has written to most of the Law Book Publishers for the exclusive agency of their books and has received favorable answers from some of them. Little Brown & Co. have not yet agreed to do so but may in time. Mr. Knight has left his office in this store and has gone with Hube as clerk. Fred will likely go with Kenny.

I heard that Kenny is going into partnership with his brother-in-law—Mr. Alexander.

Business has been very dull since the first of January with everyone. We have hardly been paying expenses since then, and I guess the rest are not much better off.

Our remittances for the first of next month are but about \$2,000.—less than any other quarter since we have started and it is going to be harder to raise the money than ever before.

Ashley came down from Bidwell’s Bar last Nov. or Dec., and Liss and he went up the latter part of last month or the first of this, I do not recollect which. Soon after Liss went upcountry I went one evening to see the Marionettes. It was the first performance of the kind that I ever attended

but it made Em feel so bad that I promised her would not go again, and I think it is the best thing that I could have done, as it would have been rather expensive if I had kept it up and it would not have improved me in any way to go to such places.

I have been thinking about depositing twenty dollars a month in the Savings and Loan Society. If I was situated as I was when I was keeping books for HHB & Co. I would do it in a minute, and the only thing that stops me now is whether it would be fair to take the money from the concern to do it. All the cash I have is in there and Hube has to get money outside to meet our payments—or I expect he will have to, to meet those for next month. He has some \$7,000 or \$8,000—in the concern now and has interest on it at 1% per month.

If I take \$20 a month and charge myself interest on it I do not think it would be out of the way. I do not want to let anyone know anything about it. I have about made up my mind to commence on the 15th of next May when I am just twenty years old, and if I can keep it up for thirty years—when I will be fifty years old, it will amount to a fortune—if they make a dividend equal to what they have been for the last two or three or four years. It is a slow way but if one keeps it up, it is sure and in the end the quickest way to make a fortune.

I have just paid a bill of \$50 for filling 10 cavities in my teeth. Some plugs that were put in three or four years ago had to come out and others be put in their places.

1861, *March 29*. This is the second day that we have not rec'd. a letter through the Post Office or Express Office. Received an order from A. Coolot for a pretty good lot of stationery for him—and for some books at very low prices. Carl says he is going out of the schoolbook trade and is going to confine himself to stationery. He put the prices of Miscellaneous and Law Books [so low?] that he ran himself out of the trade. Now he is doing the same thing with schoolbooks. [George A.] Van Bokkelen [paper and printers' warehouse] has gone out of the business—sold out below cost and at any price, and that is one reason why we did not sell more goods during the last quarter.

I did not make anything for the year ending the first of January last. I came out about \$800 behind, that is I spent \$800 more than I made. I put into the concern \$600 in cash and the 1st of January was in debt to the concern \$190.35.

Hube has made money out of it down here but probably lost enough up at the other store to make things come out behind—in the shape of partners etc.

We have the country dealers down on us for sending out samples of our goods to persons not in the trade. Hodge & Wood have made it a handle to

set the trade against us, and things look now as if they had succeeded pretty well.

I am afraid Hube missed it when he started this concern—ALB & Co. I am speaking of—I do not know what his ideas were, and he said himself that a great many good business men would condemn a thing of this kind.

Branching out has ruined so many persons—but I must hope and try hard not to have it turn out so in this case. There have been some political changes in our country's affairs. The election of a Republican President has caused the Southern States to "*secede*"—or declare themselves out of the Union and it remains to be seen what the new President—Abraham Lincoln by name—will do for his country.

I am for the Union as long as we can keep slavery in the southern states, but am not for allowing the slaveholders to take their slaves through or into the northern states while traveling—or at any other time.

If they want slaves let them keep them at home. We—or I do not want them under our noses. They will have their sins to account for—not we.

Wednesday, April 3. Kenny has all of his stock separated from Hube's and has opened his store.

Fred is over there and seems to be head man. The name of the firm is "Kenny & Alexander." Their sign does not show so large from Hube's door as I thought it would. It seems to me that I would have a larger sign than the one they put up.

This is a rainy day and there have been hardly $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen persons in the store—so far—10 o'clock. Business has been very dull and no telling how much longer it will continue to be so. I am going to singing school now, to Mr. Elliott. I have been one term and another begins next week. I am going until I can sing well enough to sing in the choir if such a time ever comes—at least that is my intention now. Reese's sister—Miss Mary Gluyas was there last night and I took her—walked with her home. She is going to attend regularly, and I expect I will have the pleasure of walking home with her often.

I spent \$5 on a present for Miss Clark the other day. I think that she is quite nice but I suppose she thinks me quite *green*. If she does she will not come very far out of the way. I had the pleasure of paying for two bits' worth of oranges last night for Miss Mary. I suppose that if I told Em about it she would laugh at me. But she had to get them for her little sister and I could not very well let her pay for them herself.

I don't know if she would laugh much either, but she would think I might be in better business.

I spend five evenings out of seven nearly every week in Calvary Church building:

Sunday—at church

Tuesday—at singing school

Wednesday—at Dr. Scott's lecture

Friday—at singing school

Saturday—at prayer meeting

Then there are two more evenings that have to be put in some how—sometimes I go calling, but I am such a big fool when I go out that I have concluded to stay at home.

I have not worked during the evening at all since the first of January.

I must write to three of my sisters this afternoon. I don't feel like writing and I believe I won't. If I had, I think this that I have written would sound better than it does.

April 17. There is no business so I have a chance to write a little. I made Reese an offer the other day as follows. He was to work to the first of July at the same salary he is getting now—\$50 per month—and after that time he was to have \$75—for no definite time and no promises about higher wages thereafter.

The proposition did not seem exactly to suit him. Some one had been talking very large to him, and some one—Cooke (Wm. B.), I suppose it was, for he would be up to any thing of the kind, just to make trouble whether he wanted Reese or not. Reese said it was someone in the same business as we are who offered him \$100 per mo. I asked him who it was but he did not want to tell. I told him if it was Cooke he had better get a written agreement from him for a certain length of time at a certain price, for if he did not he would probably stay there only for a very short time and I guess that now he thinks what I told him is just about so. A day or two after I made the offer, when he told me of the offer of \$100 per mo.—he said that he would stay 6 mos. at \$75 and would like more after that time, but I told him that my offer was the best we could do. Then he said Hube promised him that he would raise his salary after the first year.

Then I told him I would see Hube about it, and when I asked him about it he said he did not say anything of the kind.

He may or he may not have said it, but I think it more likely that he did say something of the kind. I know his views change some times very suddenly—so much so that he will have things done right the opposite way from which he intended to only a short time before. But more particularly his views change about this business that I am in, for instance, about selling goods to everyone that comes along on credit. When we did it he said we must do it to get started—to make ourselves known—but when the cash did not come in so fast for the goods that went out that way he said it was good enough for us, that persons that would do business in that way ought to lose half they sold etc. etc. But that has nothing to do with Reese's salary, and so

I told him if he chooses he may figure it as \$62.50 per mo. from the 1st of last Jan'y. to the 1st of next Jan. which would be the same thing for the whole year, and I guess he thinks the best thing he can do is to stay, although he has not told me so yet.

Mr. Elliott was in here a short time ago and invited me to sing in the choir.

I will attend the rehearsal Saturday evening and, if it goes pretty well, may sing with them Sunday but do not think I will for a while.

Kenny has been sending out a circular that is calculated very much to give a person to understand that the establishment of HHB & Co is no more—so much so that some of the country papers gave them notices, saying they had sold out etc. But today I saw two notices on the other side.

April 19, Friday. Hube was in the store this afternoon and says that he has been thinking about moving this concern up into the other, and have it all go under one name. In a case of that kind he would take me in as partner and give me one-fourth interest in it—profits and debts alike. He has not made up his mind fully yet. We will go on as we are for some time any way.

If we *do* anything of the kind I think we will have to put some of our goods in storage, for we could not very well make room for them. This little store is nearly full upstairs and down and so is theirs.

July 26, Friday. This diary came very near falling through it seems. There have been many changes since last I wrote in this book. We have moved nearly all of our goods from Clay St. to Montgomery St. and I have been here in the Montgomery St. store since about the 1st of May. Business has not been very rushing since I came here; neither with us nor with anyone else. There is great excitement in the eastern states about the war going on there now, which is the cause of the dull times here also to a great extent I think.

On the 4th of July Father arrived here on his way to Washington Territory. He has been appointed Indian Agent for that Ter. at \$1,500 per year. Mr. Wyche has an appointment in the same Ter. and came out at the same time.

[Back pages—notes]

March 10, 1862 Sent Mrs. P. \$60 for Int. on in *full* to March 1, 1862.

June 21, 1862 Sent Mrs. P. \$60 Int. to July 1, 1862

A. L. Bancroft to Mrs. E. M. Palmer

Note due July 1/4 1864 \$2,000

May 30, 1862 Sent Mrs. E.M.P. note dated July 1, 1862, 5 years at 1% a month Int. for above \$2,000.

March 10, 1862 Sent Mrs. D. \$213 for Int. on in *full* to April 1, 1862

June 20, 1862 Send Mrs. D. \$217 Int. to July 1

AL Bancroft Dr to Mrs. C. M. Derby

Note due July 1/4 1864	\$6,500
June 17, 1861—Cash p'd to A & B [Ames & Barnes] . . .	500
Oct. 29, 1862—Cash pd to A & B	50
Apl. 11—Cash pd. to A & B	250

May 30, 1862 Sent Mrs. C.M.D. Note dated July 1, 1862 5 years at 1%
a month Int. for above \$7,300.

(To be continued)

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

PREFACE

FEW Californians, who proudly display or march under their state flag, know much of Henry L. Ford, whose suggestion resulted in the adoption of the grizzly bear as the distinctive feature of the original design. Scarce are those who know the real name or have seen a likeness of the successful commander at Olompali, the skirmish of the Bear Flag revolt in which blood was shed. Virtually none, except members of his family, know of his early life.

Upon first approach of the author to this subject, Henry L. Ford seemed an almost legendary person who was surrounded by mystery and who lapsed into obscurity after a brief moment of fame. Gradually his story has unfolded, and, although much of the mystery is dispelled here, enough remains to stimulate lively speculation and the hope of further discoveries.

This writer confesses his liking for apt but little-known descriptions of persons, events and places. Such accounts are used freely in the background of this narrative, a notable example being Kemble's classic story of the hardships of Frémont's California Battalion during a Christmas day in the mountains near Santa Barbara. So too, the antics of one "Badger" Smith and data on some of Ford's close associates are detailed, while some actions of Frémont and Stockton appear in outline only. No disproportion results, since we are concerned primarily with matters nearer to Ford.

This is more than a short biography of Ford. Because of his connection with the Bear Flag revolt and the operations of Frémont's California Battalion, the chapters on those subjects are brief histories of those events. Much fresh material is used. New light is shed by the John Wilson papers, now at the Bancroft Library and now used for the first time. The Edouart paintings, located and identified under fortunate circumstances, add markedly to this presentation.

Here is the story of the brief but eventful life of a stalwart figure.

I

IN THE EAST

A close reader of the *California Star*, published by Sam Brannan at San Francisco, could have noted in the issue of October 19, 1847, the name of Noah E. Ford in a list of persons for whom unclaimed letters were held at a temporary post office provided by the army quartermaster at San Francisco.

That notice and a similar one, appearing the next April in both the *Star* and the *Californian*, did not escape the searchers laboring nearly forty years later for Hubert H. Bancroft, the historian. Unable to learn more, the person compiling Bancroft's register of pioneers dutifully gave Noah a single short sentence and passed on to seemingly better-known persons. Another Ford—Henry L.—was rightfully given considerable notice both in the register of pioneers and in the main text of Bancroft's history of California, but who was this Noah E. Ford? Did he deserve more than a line in an extensive history of California? Let us solve this century-old mystery, for with that solution this story must commence.

At North Conway, New Hampshire, on August 24, 1822, was born to Abiah Eastman Ford and William Churchill Ford a son who was named Noah Eastman.¹ The family was of early New England stock which traced its lineage to William Foord (1604-1676) and to Roger Eastman (1611-1694). William Foord landed at New Plymouth November 11, 1621, arriving from Leyden, Holland, on the ship *Fortune* with his mother, the "Widdo Foord," and other of her children.² Roger Eastman was born in Wales, sailed from Southampton, England, in April 1638 on the ship *Confidence*, and settled at Salisbury, Massachusetts.³

Noah's father, son of a soldier of the Revolution, Hezekiah Ford (1736-1819), was born at Cornwall, Connecticut, on March 19th in the year of Independence, and was one of the first settlers at South Lancaster, New Hampshire.⁴ Abiah Eastman, Noah's mother, was born at Conway, New Hampshire, April 6, 1782. She was the daughter of Richard Eastman, Jr., and Abiah Holt Eastman, who in October 1769 occupied the first frame house built in North Conway.⁵

Noah's parents were married May 1, 1806, lived at Lancaster until about 1816, and then moved to North Conway. Noah was the youngest of six children who reached maturity; the others in order of birth were William, Deborah, Richard Heman, Henry Lewis, and John Eastman.

Little is known of Noah's early boyhood except that it was spent in the scenic country on the banks of the Saco in full view of the towering Presidential Range of the White Mountains. To Noah and his young companions it was a place for adventure and enjoyment. In the fall there was the sight of Mount Washington capped with early snow, and of the foothills covered with vivid autumn colors. In the winter came bobsledding, and skating on the frozen ponds and river. The spring brought sap from the maples and "sugaring off," and after the freshets came fishing in the streams. These pleasurable times, and a moderate amount of schooling, came to an end all too soon for Noah. His mother died at North Conway November 14, 1840, and about that time he went to Boston to work.⁶

Whether his work was connected with the shipping industry is not certain, but of course he could observe the coming and going of the merchantmen

and whalers at the metropolis of New England. These sights undoubtedly stirred in Noah a restlessness and spirit of adventure, heightened by stories of the exploits of the army's dragoon regiments on the Mississippi Valley frontier. Possibly his determination was hastened by the wiles of a recruiting sergeant. At any rate he presented himself to the recruiting officer at Boston and on December 11, 1841, he enlisted for the dragoons. His description was recorded as "eyes, hazel; hair, brown; complexion, ruddy; height, 5 feet 9½ inches."⁷

If the experience recorded by another dragoon recruit who enlisted later at Boston is an indication, Noah's tall beaver hat, sateen waistcoat, and Sunday-go-to-meeting suit were taken from him by the sergeant, whose fatherly advice, "You can't take those clothes with you. Give them to me . . ." was an unofficial and self-assumed prerogative held by recruiting sergeants for many years later. Issued uniforms, Noah and other recruits were sent by way of New York to Carlisle Barracks in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania.⁸

There, on the outskirts of the town of Carlisle, was a training school for mounted service, established in 1835 at the post built in 1777 by Hessian prisoners captured at Trenton.⁹ Several companies constituted the "permanent party," from which came the instructors. In the mornings were held foot drill and instruction with the carbine and saber. In the afternoons came mounted drill, with the raw riders making innumerable and involuntary deployments not to be found in the drill regulations.¹⁰

It appears that Noah was held at the post longer than would be expected. Perhaps he was being groomed for retention with the permanent party, as sometimes happened in the case of the "best behaved men." However he was still carried on the records as a recruit when he deserted at Carlisle Barracks October 6, 1842.¹¹ In the meantime his family had tried to obtain his discharge, only to learn of his desertion.

Now for a time, trace of him must be through "family tradition" without more positive proof. The story goes as follows. Noah became engaged in an altercation with an officer, and the recruit left without delay to escape further trouble, an action he was destined for life to regret. Making his way to an unnamed port, he stowed away on a ship bound for the Pacific. When discovered, he gave his name as that of his brother, Henry L. Ford, by which name he was known thereafter. At some point on the voyage he is said to have dived off the ship to rescue a girl who had fallen overboard. Both were rescued by his ship after it had nearly given up the search, and eventually he landed in California.¹²

II

EARLY DAYS IN CALIFORNIA

Without naming the port of his debarkation, Henry later stated that he arrived in California September 14, 1842.¹³ It is evident that he was in error

as to the year. If he was at Carlisle Barracks until October, as appears certain, no existing means of transportation could have brought him to California in 1842.

No reason exists to doubt his statements regarding his movements in 1843, which are the first that have been found covering his activities in California. Commencing about September 20 or 25 of that year he stayed about three weeks at the house of William Gulnac in San Jose. In November he stopped at the home of William S. Hinckley in Yerba Buena. Henry gave his early residences as San Jose and Santa Cruz. He stated that he knew nearly all the persons who resided at Yerba Buena in 1843. This was not difficult for the small cluster of houses of the pueblo proper, less than twenty in number, probably sheltered fewer than one hundred persons.¹⁴

From the foregoing, one gains the impression that he landed at Monterey or Yerba Buena in 1843, possibly as late as September. Monterey was the official port of entry, but the regulation was sometimes evaded, particularly by whalers which found the water supply much better at Sausalito on San Francisco Bay.

San Jose, where our young adventurer was befriended by the blacksmith William Gulnac and his wife, the former María Isabel de Casena, was a pueblo of about three hundred people.¹⁵ There were some houses of adobe, but others were built of posts with the intervals filled with mud, and with roofs thatched with straw. The houses were only partially floored, and only the "best families" had tables. The food was mainly beef and beans, seasoned with chili peppers.

The commerce of the country was in hides and tallow. Wealth was in cattle, and there were many horses. Amusements included the dancing of the fandango to the music of the guitar and violin, horse racing, bull-and-bear fighting, and some cock fighting. There was a general deficiency of education but no lack of hospitality, for "A man could travel all over the country without a cent of money if necessary."¹⁶

Monterey was the largest town of the area and had a population of about seven hundred. There the merchant Thomas O. Larkin traded his goods for hides, and successfully survived the changing political scene. There Ford, finding his lack of knowledge of Spanish to be a handicap, studied the language under the genial William E. P. Hartnell, customs officer, court clerk, linguist and teacher.¹⁷

In March 1844, Ford was again at Yerba Buena and rode to Mission Dolores with Alcalde William S. Hinckley.¹⁸ Following Ford's declaration of American citizenship, certified to by Isaac Graham at Monterey on April 19, 1844, he was issued a passport, signed by Gen. Manuel Micheltorena, governor of California, enabling him to remain in the country.¹⁹

Possibly because of lack of employment in the towns he had visited, Henry set out that spring to investigate reported opportunities for huntsmen in the

Sacramento Valley. Crossing over to the valley of the San Joaquin, he rode north along the east bank of the Sacramento and neared its junction with the American River.

In the distance could be seen a structure which, because of its height and the rise on which it was located, dominated the flat, surrounding country. On closer view, it was seen to have adobe walls about 18 feet in height inclosing an area of perhaps 300 by 150 feet, with bastions mounting cannon at the southeast and northwest corners. In front of the south entrance an Indian sentinel paced his beat in a uniform of green with red trimming.

This was the famed Sutter's Fort.²⁰

Striking as was the exterior aspect, the scene within was one of even greater interest. Gaining admittance, the visitor passed through heavy gates hung on thick walls, and turned left to the first of a series of rooms and other structures which bordered the inclosure. Here were the quarters of the master of New Helvetia, the Swiss pseudo-Mexican, the benefactor of American emigrants: "Captain" John A. Sutter. Next was Sutter's office where a clerk kept the records and correspondence. Probably here was kept a copy of the Vioget map of 1841, showing the immense empire of New Helvetia, which was a grant obtained by Sutter from Alvarado that year, and which extended from the vicinity of the fort northerly up the Sacramento and Feather rivers to the present Marysville Buttes. Probably also to be found in the same office was a copy of the map of the upper Sacramento Valley, made by John Bidwell in 1843, which showed but few settlers above New Helvetia.

Next to the office, in passing clockwise around the quadrangle, were the quarters of Sutter's bodyguard; then in succession were a blacksmith shop, coal bin, wheat storehouse, boarding house, storerooms for tools, and entrance to the northwest bastion. Beyond an open space were the distillery and another tool house; then extending around to the east gate were a number of "family rooms" which housed certain employees and their Mexican or Indian wives and children. Between the east and south gates were other family rooms, the entrance to the southeast bastion, a workshop, and store-rooms. In the center of the inclosure was a large boarding house. The whole was a scene of activity, with the going and coming of hunters, trappers, herdsmen, and other retainers. Over all floated the flag of Mexico.

Southeast of the fort was a corral; to the east were the vaqueros' quarters; north on the south bank of the American River was a tannery; and the whole establishment was surrounded by wheat fields.

Making the acquaintance of Captain Sutter, Henry learned of the hunting procedure. Deer and elk skins were desired. The hunters outfitted at the fort, where they obtained pack animals and necessary supplies, and then left for the hunting grounds. After getting a load of skins, they delivered them to the fort, and so continued their operations.

Ford became one of the hunters and ranged the country on both sides of

the Sacramento and on Cache Creek to the west.²¹ At the mouth of the latter stream was the tule hut of Thomas M. Hardy, grantee of Río de Jesús María. The usual crossing of the Sacramento in the vicinity was at Hardy's, or at a place later known as Knight's Landing, where William Knight had a dwelling made of poles, rawhide, tule, and mud plaster. Farther up Cache Creek was the rancho of the hospitable "Uncle Billy" Gordon, about ten miles west of the present Woodland.

Thousands of wild horses roamed the valley. There were elk in bands of a hundred or more, antelope in small groups, and plenty of deer, bear, geese, and ducks. In the spring large areas were carpeted with wild flowers, and the rank growth of wild oats was well above saddle height.²²

During this stay on the Sacramento, Ford met not only the fort personnel but also most of the settlers and many transients. He specifically mentioned John S. Williams, Peter Lassen, Thomas Hardy, Pierson B. Reading, John Bidwell, and Ezekiel Merritt.²³ That summer the Kelsey party arrived in the valley from Oregon. In the party were several with whom Ford became associated in later military ventures: William Hargrave, Andrew and Samuel Kelsey, and Granville P. Swift. The latter, who did much hunting on the Sacramento and became a very close friend of Ford, will be given more than passing mention in these pages. Swift was described by William Baldrige as follows:

Although his father was a man of wealth, Granville's education was much neglected, being able only to read and write indifferently, which was partially his own fault, being passionately fond of a hunter's life for which he was admirably adapted. He was fair complectioned, six feet one inch in height, very erect and symmetrical, and of great endurance and undoubted bravery. It was well known that he was the best shot, and could load and fire with greater rapidity than any man on the Pacific coast.²⁴

In September Ford returned to Santa Cruz which, with the neighboring Branciforte, probably had a population somewhat less than 350 excluding Indians.²⁵

In November 1844 occurred a revolt by Californians against General Micheltorena and the Mexican rule. This resulted from the Californians' resentment of the depredations of members of Micheltorena's battalion, which consisted largely of convicts, and the desire of some Californians to govern themselves in preference to the rule of remote control by Mexico. December first, after bloodless maneuvers, Micheltorena signed a treaty with the rebels at Santa Teresa in which he promised to send away the "bad men" within three months.

Captain Sutter recruited a force on the Sacramento and made preparations to join Micheltorena. On January 1, 1845, Sutter marched from New Helvetia with about 220 men including some 100 Indians. Moving via Marsh's rancho and San Jose, he arrived at the Salinas River. Micheltorena, having repudiated his treaty, joined forces with Sutter and assumed command. At some time prior to this, Ford had joined Captain Gantt's company of for-

eigners under Sutter. Micheltorena moved south in slow pursuit of the rebels under José Castro.

The only statements by Ford that are found regarding the campaign are that he then served under Captain Sutter as did also Thomas Hardy, that there was "some trouble in camp and the soldiers talked of turning back," and that Micheltorena addressed the volunteers at Santa Barbara encouraging them to continue. Actually the foreigners with Sutter and those who joined the rebels in the south had no inclination to fight each other.²⁶

Following a "battle" at Cahuenga, which caused few if any casualties, Micheltorena agreed to leave for Mexico with those of his troops who wished to follow him. Pío Pico became governor, and José Castro commandant of the department. Micheltorena returned to Monterey and then left California with his "cholos" in late March, by which time most of Sutter's men had returned north. The latter gained little from the campaign except possibly a better knowledge of their comrades and of the functioning of the Californians in the field.

Ford returned to Santa Cruz in March 1845. During the remainder of the year he was engaged in buying and selling cattle, horses, and mules. By this time he could read Spanish and could transact business without an interpreter. In April he was at New Helvetia and remained in the general vicinity for several months, returning to San Jose for a drove of cattle which he took to the "head of Sacramento Valley."²⁷ On September 26, 1845, Ford read the ceremony at the contract marriage of Isaac Graham and Catherine Bennett, which took place at Zayante, a settlement of Americans about seven miles up the San Lorenzo River from Santa Cruz.²⁸ This affair caused some meddling by Consul Larkin, who, on receipt of a complaint that the pair were unmarried and living together, wrote the justice of the peace at Santa Cruz requesting their "immediate separation."²⁹ The justice replied, "Graham answered me that he was properly married and would not separate from his wife nor would he give her up—he would lose 1000 lives rather than do so—that Mr. Pared [Ford?] and another gentleman had approved his marriage, that no authority could exact a separation, and that he did not recognize you as consul. . . ."³⁰ Seven years later, the California Supreme Court opined that the marriage was binding, except for a legal disability—the fact that Graham had a wife in the east, by prior marriage.³¹

The New Helvetia diary notes Ford's arrival "from above" on December 3, 1845, and his departure for Monterey the next day with A. Toomes and Job F. Dye.³² March 1846 found Ford on the Sacramento again when he visited Reading's rancho for the first time. He explained, "It was on account of an outbreak of Indians; a company was raised for the purpose of quelling the same and I formed one of the company."³³ It seems that settlers in the valley appealed to Capt. John C. Frémont, then at Lassen's rancho with his exploring party, for assistance in combatting a reported uprising of Indians,

and that Frémont allowed his men to give aid. The combined forces moved against the Indians and found a large number at a bend of the Sacramento River, probably on or near Reading's San Buenaventura Rancho. In the engagement which followed many Indians were killed. The number was estimated by Thomas S. Martin as 175; Kit Carson said that the battleground was "strewn with dead Indians"; and William I. Tustin gives the number as from 600 to 700 on land alone.³⁴ Reading, a participant, says that the island opposite Cottonwood Creek was named Bloody Island because of this fight.³⁵

Probably Ford then went to the ranch which had been established by William C. Moon in 1845, below and on the opposite side of the Sacramento from Deer Creek.³⁶ At any rate, Henry was on hand in the vicinity for the exciting events which followed.

(To be continued)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The assistance kindly given by the following-named persons and institutions made this work possible:

Mrs. Geraldine Hansen allowed the use of manuscript material pertaining to Captain Ford, and his daguerreotype portrait, collected by her father, Henry Lambert Ford (1860-1930). Of equal importance from an art standpoint are the five Edouart paintings reproduced by permission of Frederick Sidney Jones. Mrs. Evva M. Cooper furnished material on the Wilsons. Alexander Edouart gave data on his artist father, as did Mrs. Augustin Edouart Bryant. Suggestions of Dr. John A. Hussey, Dr. George Tays, and George W. Ames, Jr., were of material assistance in the revolt and conquest phases of this work. Others helping in certain fields of their knowledge were Dr. Jacob N. Bowman, Ruth Gaines, Georgia W. Read, Mrs. J. S. Cotton, Hannibal C. Ford, Frederick W. Ford, F. M. Dunlap, and Warren N. Woodson.

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I express my sincere thanks to these, and to many others who helped.

FRED B. ROGERS

NOTES

In order to keep this section within reasonable bounds, these notes and references are selective, not exhaustive.

Abbreviations to show location of certain manuscripts are:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| (C) | California State Library, Sacramento |
| (CSMH) | Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino |
| (CSP) | Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco |

(CST)	Stanford University
(CU)	University of California Library, Berkeley
(CUB)	Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
(NA)	National Archives, Washington, D. C.
(TAGDA)	The Adjutant General, Department of the Army

1. Data on William C. and Abiah E. Ford and their children are from Abby E. Ford, MS "Statement" (ca. 1913) to H. L. Ford; Frederick W. Ford to F. B. Rogers, Sept. 28, Nov. 15, 1948.
2. Hannibal C. Ford, *William Foord of the Fortune* (Great Neck, N. Y., 1946), introd., charts 1 and 2.
3. "Genealogy of the Eastman Family," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1847 to present), XXI, 229.
4. Georgia D. Merrill, ed., *History of Coos County, New Hampshire* (Syracuse, 1888), p. 279.
5. Georgia D. Merrill, ed., *History of Carroll County, New Hampshire* (Boston, 1889), p. 844.
6. William A. Ford, MS "Statement" (ca. 1913) to H. L. Ford.
7. Record, Noah E. Ford (TAGDA).
8. Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon* (Kansas City, Mo., 1906), p. 6.
9. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 270.
10. Lowe, *loc. cit.*
11. Record, Noah E. Ford (TAGDA).
12. Wm. A. Ford, *op. cit.* Henry Lewis Ford, Noah's brother, was born at Lancaster, N. H., Aug. 31, 1815, and died at Hanson, Mass., Mar. 10, 1908. Abby E. Ford, *op. cit.* He should not be confused with Henry Lambert Ford (1860-1930). See Appendix B.
13. Case No. 379, U. S. Court, Northern District, California (hereafter cited as ND) 24; 427 ND 56.
14. 357 ND 7, 8; 360 ND 111; 427 ND 56. At least ten vessels which left North Atlantic ports on the east coast in 1842 landed at Monterey, Yerba Buena, or Sausalito in 1843.
15. San Jose (Calif.) *Pioneer*, Jan. 20, 1877.
16. Josiah Belden, MS "Statement" (CUB).
17. 310 ND 93; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), III, 777. A recent biography of this gifted man is Susanna Bryant Dakin's *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford University Press, 1949).
18. 427 ND 56.
19. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 743, 744; 319 ND 92; MS notes in files of Ford and Graham (CUB), citing "Larkin Papers" (not found).
20. Description of Sutter's Fort is based on *Themis* (Sacramento), Nov. 30, 1889; John A. Sutter, MS "Personal Reminiscences," pp. 75-77 (CUB); and Joseph W. Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849), pp. 70-74. John Bidwell tells of mapping the upper Sacramento Valley in 1843 in *Butte County, California* (Oakland: Smith and Elliot, 1877), p. ii. Bidwell's 1844 map of the area in (C).
21. 360 ND 111, 112.
22. Thomas Knight, MS "Recollections," pp. 40, 45; also his MS "Statement of Early Events in California," p. 6 (both CUB).
23. 4 ND 52; 38 ND 38; 360 ND 110, 111; 367 ND 25.
24. William Baldridge, MS "The Days of 1846," p. 24 (CUB).
25. 360 ND 111.
26. 360 ND 116; 319 ND 91, 94. See *The Diary of Johann August Sutter* (San Francisco, 1932), for a partial roster of Gantt's company, including the name of Ford.

27. 360 ND 111, 319 ND 91, 93.
28. Third Judicial District for Santa Cruz, *Graham vs. Bennett* (1852).
29. Larkin, "Official Correspondence," I, 59 (CUB).
30. Doc. Hist. Calif., I, 419, translation in Isaac Graham file (CUB).
31. *Reports, Supreme Court of the State of Calif.* (San Francisco, 1906), II, 503-507.
32. *New Helvetia Diary* (San Francisco, 1939), p. 15.
33. 4 ND 52.
34. Martin, MS "Dictation," pp. 13-14 (CUB); Dewitt C. Peters, *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures* (Hartford, 1875), pp. 252-254; Tustin, MS "Recollections," p. 3 (CUB).
35. 4 ND 49.
36. *History of Tehama County* (San Francisco: Elliot and Moore, 1880), p. 53.

The Jesuit Arrival in San Francisco in 1849

By JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN, S.J.

SUNDAY, December 11, 1949, was a memorable day in the history of St. Ignatius Church of the University of San Francisco. On that day the Jesuit Fathers joined with members of the various religious orders and with representatives of the diocesan clergy, as well as with a capacity congregation of friends and students, to commemorate the centenary of the arrival, in the city, of fathers Michael Accolti and John Nobili, priests of the Company of Jesus. Three days previously, December 8, 1949, the actual centennial date, had been the occasion of a solemn Mass when a distinguished Jesuit orator, the Reverend Zacheus J. Maher, retold the story of the coming of the Jesuit Order to California:

The movement was again westward and northwestward, into the wilderness, across the plains, over the mountains and then, in God's good time, California. From the Potomac to the Mississippi, from the Mississippi to the Columbia, from the Columbia to San Francisco runs the trail of the Blackrobe . . . only against this backdrop of history can the coming of Accolti and of Nobili be rightly appreciated.¹

For the solemn commemoration of the Jesuit centennial, especial efforts were made to see that several important and integral phases of the religious past of California be called to mind. It was from old Oregon, as we shall see, that fathers Accolti and Nobili had come; hence it was entirely appropriate that the celebrant of the solemn Mass of Thanksgiving should be the present father provincial of the Oregon Jesuit province, the Very Reverend Harold O. Small, S.J. An earlier plan to send Jesuits to California from the eastern seaboard had been discussed by ecclesiastical authorities; hence, with like appropriateness, one of the notable Jesuit orators of the eastern states, the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, former president of Fordham University, New York City, was invited to give the official centennial sermon on December eleventh. Father Gannon thus set the scene:

Here, in this noble collegiate church, before the throne of our Most Reverend Archbishop, the Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers of the Society of Jesus thank God for the privilege of serving in this corner of the vineyard for one hundred years—for the grace of helping, in a modest way, to build the Empire that is California.²

It is proposed to tell, below, how the California phase of the history of the Society of Jesus began a century ago. Neither in old Oregon nor in the "new" California that emerged with the discovery of gold did this story begin, but rather in Lower California which today forms part of the Republic of Mexico. On December 29, 1679, a royal decree had entrusted the evangelization of western New Spain to the Company of Jesus, and on April 2, 1683, the first two Jesuits, fathers Eusebio Kino and Pedro Goñi, landed at La Paz near the southern tip of Lower California. There followed a laborious period of mission foundation which resulted, in 1767, in thirteen Jesuit

missions up and down the peninsula. On April second of that year, their labor was requited with an ignoble reward when King Charles III of Spain decreed, for reasons "which I shall always keep secret in my heart . . . for the safety of my life requires from me a profound silence on the matter . . .," that the Society of Jesus should be suppressed in his domains and its members removed from their missionary stations. For eighty-four years, the Company had been ministering to California, and fifty-one of her men had labored there; yet, at a word from Madrid, the Jesuit Order was made to withdraw, sorrowfully and sorrowing, from the California apostolate. The next entry, and the one which concerns us here, was to be made into "American" California or into the California of today, and was to come from the north eighty-two years later.³

This phase of the Jesuit story in the far west starts with the journey of the celebrated Peter John DeSmet, S.J., to the northwest in 1840. It is not proposed to retell what has already been accurately treated elsewhere;⁴ we shall, rather, progress to the important advent of fathers Michael Accolti and John Nobili into the Oregon country in 1844.⁵ By way of preface, a brief biographical account is given of each of these two Jesuits.

Michael Accolti, of aristocratic descent, was born in 1807 at Conversano (Bari) in the Kingdom of Naples. He received a thorough education, and, on June 11, 1832, when twenty-five, he entered the Roman province of the Jesuits. After twelve years of Jesuit life in Italy, he journeyed to America.

John Nobili holds his place in California educational history as the founder, in 1851, of what developed into Santa Clara College and, later, into the University of Santa Clara. He was born in Rome in 1812 and closed his career at Santa Clara in 1856. Like Accolti, he was a volunteer for the missionary life in America and with Accolti and other Jesuit companions went, as mentioned above, to Oregon in 1844. It was on August fifth of that year that "the newest recruits for the missionary field of the Northwest landed before historic Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia, a few miles above the mouth of the Willamette."⁶ Reporting their arrival to the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, Dr. John McLoughlin said:

The Belgian brig, *Infatigable* [*sic*], Capt. Mollar [*sic*] from Antwerp, entered this river on the 4th [*sic*] August with the Revd. Father Desmet, four other Jesuits, one lay Brother, and six nuns, with about 80 tons sundries for them. As I already informed you, the Jesuits have two missions in the Flathead country, and are forming a third, and intend to erect a College in the Wallamette [*sic*], where the four Jesuits come with Father DeSmet are stationed, and three more, with as many lay brothers, are to join them. These Jesuits are Belgians and Italians, except one who is either American or English.⁷

For five years, 1844-49, fathers Accolti and Nobili occupied themselves with the various phases of the Jesuit apostolate in the Oregon country. Father Nobili was missionary in New Caledonia, today's British Columbia, while Father Accolti spent practically all of his Oregon years in the Jesuit

residence of St. Francis Xavier near the pioneer Catholic establishment of St. Paul, Oregon.⁸

It would appear that Father Accolti never completely shared the enthusiasm manifested by Father Nobili for actual missionary life among the Indians. While not neglecting any care assigned to him, it seems certain that Michael Accolti quickly became a powerful influence for good among the whites of the region rather than among the aborigines. His friendly manner, joined with the natural graces which were his from early training and from family background, quickly served to make him a popular clergyman among both Catholics and those not of his religion. This fact should be borne in mind when the events that helped to shape his subsequent career are recounted.

The Jesuits in the Oregon country were never numerous enough to man adequately the various missions established by them. Father General John Roothaan (1785-1853) sensed this from the reports sent to him at Rome and, accordingly, to Father Joseph Joset, S.J. (1810-1900) went some explicit instructions under date of February 18, 1846:

It is a matter of the greatest importance that you see to it that new Residences be established only after prudent advice has been had; in the matter, you must consider both your present man power as well as the future usefulness of such undertakings. However, that section of the Vineyard which the Lord now assigns to us is not all Oregon, but rather the section by the Columbia where we are now engaged. Lower Oregon, as it is called, as well as the section to the West across the river should be left to the care of His Grace, the Vicar Apostolic and to his helpers; we must not even allow ourselves to think about any long excursions into fields afar—namely, into California.⁹

In Accolti's opinion the immediate future of the northwest missions—at least in 1847—was fairly bright. On March sixteenth of that year he wrote to an English Jesuit, Father P. Jenkins:

Our missions in the countries of the Indians are blessed by God. Another one is now open in New Caledonia with great fruit. We are now in great expectation of other Fathers and Brothers to reinforce the existent missions and begin some others along the Pacific Coast. Help us with your prayers.¹⁰

But what of Accolti's own spiritual progress? His immediate Jesuit superior, Father Joset, thus mentions his Neapolitan subject in a routine report to Roothaan dated February 5, 1849:

Father Accolti is a good religious and he will pronounce his Final Vows after making his Spiritual Retreat. He has received gracefully the admonitions I had to give him. However, as Treasurer of our Mission, he didn't keep the books in very good order nor, indeed, does he now seem well affected towards our Indian Missions in general: rather, all of his interest and attention seem focused on the Residence on the Willamette. . . . He seems to fear lest he be sent to the Missions of the Mountains and clings in affection to Willamette where, amidst a much more civilized manner of life, he thinks of the possibility of erecting a school.¹¹

In the interim between the discovery of gold at Coloma and the date of this letter had occurred the depopulation of Oregon in favor of California.

Such a wholesale migration was giving rise to serious repercussions among the Jesuit apostolate in the northwest. Joset is succinct in reporting the matter to his general, Father Roothaan, in another portion of the letter quoted above:

Another difficulty [i.e., concerning the temporal administration of the Missions in the Rocky Mountains] comes from the fact of the recent discovery of abundant gold deposits—one in California and another near our Mission; the result has been that prices have risen and we are not able to buy the things necessary for life in this region: unless we purchase these things in Europe, we shall indeed be destitute.¹²

In a recently published work, the present author has endeavored to recreate the ecclesiastical scene in California at the time of the gold rush,¹³ and has noted other attempts to procure Jesuits for the work of evangelization in Upper California.¹⁴ Among the Jesuits so expected were, evidently, some Spanish fathers. They did not come, but their expected arrival was referred to by the then Missouri Jesuit vice-provincial, Father Elet, in a letter to Roothaan: "We are awaiting with much impatience the arrival of some Spanish Fathers and Brothers. 20,000 emigrants are to depart in the Spring for California. . . ."¹⁵

The unrest in Oregon which accompanied this emigration to California invaded mightily the spirit of Michael Accolti. He was hardly the type of man to remain contented in a rapidly depopulating region, and on this basis he presented his reasons to Father Joset for a projected expedition to California. Later, Accolti admitted that the permission Joset eventually gave him had been wrung from the latter with some difficulty. This may be readily understood in the light of the explicit prohibition regarding California that had been imposed upon the Oregon Jesuit superior by Roothaan in 1846. However, it was Accolti's argument (and one, too, which the later attitude of Roothaan, when he was informed of the Accolti journey, was to justify) that, if Roothaan had known of the discovery of gold in California and of the very great need of priests to minister to the onrushing hordes of gold miners and their families, he would not have erected the barrier of obedience between Accolti and El Dorado. Circumstances do alter cases, argued Accolti.

When news of Accolti's plans got abroad, local ecclesiastical authority was not pleased. Not yet were the resources of the Catholic Church in the Oregon country sufficiently strong to permit either Archbishop Francis N. Blanchet (1795-1883) of Oregon City or his brother, Bishop Augustine M. A. Blanchet (1797-1887), then ruling the short-lived (1846-1850) diocese of Walla Walla, to view with disinterestedness or equanimity the departure of even two Jesuits from the northwest. It may well be supposed, of course, that the two prelates were quite conscious of the possibility, soon to become an actuality, that the departure would be but the first of others from their territory. For example, Bishop Blanchet sent a letter to his vicar-general,

Father John B. A. Brouillet (1813-1884)—who was, as a matter of fact, largely responsible for the Jesuit departure; he had been to California in 1848, and had written to Jesuit authorities in Rome and elsewhere to urge the establishment of the Society there. In this letter Blanchet said:

With regard to the immense good to be done in California for the spiritual and material interests of the missions of the country, Providence has charge and will continue to have charge of the matter and It will again provide some-one to care for it. It is not necessary for us to plunge ourselves into the affair. To build a church, a rectory, religious establishments (i.e. in San Francisco) all of this falls under the competence of the Administrator or the Bishop alone. The Administrator is restrained by Canon Law—"Sede Vacante, nihil innovetur" ["While an Episcopal See is vacant (i.e., as in California), nothing is to be changed"]. What will the Bishop say (his coming cannot be too much more delayed) when he discovers that we have started work in a section not confided to us, that we have sown seed in a strange field, and that we have introduced into his diocese religious Orders which, perhaps, he would not wish to have. I have said nothing to Father Accolti concerning the inopportuneness of the steps he is preparing to take according to your suggestions, but I believe that it is important that you should acquaint him as soon as possible that we should all wait for the coming of a Bishop to California, lest we be all caught in the snare of developments there.¹⁶

Bishop Blanchet's concern was not his only, for his archiepiscopal brother was also watching preparations for Father Accolti's departure with great interest. He noted in his diary, under October [no day], 1849, that "Fathers Accolti and Nobili have passed four or five weeks with the merchant, Mr. McLane, whose opinion is that they should depart for California. Accordingly, they are to leave the Archdiocese and to embark for California in October."¹⁷

We may now proceed to an account of the actual Jesuit "descent on California," to use a phrase employed by Henry R. Wagner for a similar occasion.¹⁸ The Accolti-Nobili hegira to El Dorado was always to be cherished in Jesuit annals as the first entrance of the Society into "American" California, although, in 1849, California was not yet a part of the Union. It has sometimes been asserted that Eusebio Kino preceded his Jesuit brothers to California, but the author has the authority of Herbert Eugene Bolton for his statement, developed at greater length elsewhere, that Kino entered what we now call Lower California and never set foot in California itself.¹⁹ And since the reconstruction of the actual Jesuit "descent" on California in December 1849 has cost the present author much labor and research, he hopes he may be pardoned if he tells briefly, in words already printed, of that coming:

Father Accolti mentions in his "Memorial" that he and his companions were ready to sail from the Columbia River on October 30, 1849. They were delayed by contrary winds, however, and did not set sail before December 3. Their craft was the American brig, *O. C. Raymond*, and on it the two Jesuits sailed into San Francisco Bay on the evening of December 8, 1849. It was Saturday, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and, on the next morning, Sunday, December 9, 1849, Accolti

and Nobili made their way into the city which was to incorporate them and the Society they represented into the very fabric of its being.²⁰

We may conclude this chronicle of the events leading up to the Jesuit arrival in California a century ago with an interesting excerpt from a letter written by Father Accolti to Father General Roothaan from San Francisco; it is dated March 28, 1850. Father Garraghan has reproduced some of the letter in his monumental *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, II, 407-408, but we here print for the first time other portions of this historic document:

ACCOLTI TO ROTHAAAN

Most Reverend Father General:

I find myself in California with Father Nobili. I don't intend to give Your Reverence the history and the motives of this expedition, since I have already done so in a letter which I had the honor to send you last month. . . . In case this former letter has not arrived at its destination, I shall merely state, in a few words, that we have been here since the 10th [*sic*] of December and that we have been charged by Father Joset with this journey to observe with our own eyes if it was true, according to the information of Father Brouillet, if our Society should establish itself in this territory, which is now attracting the attention of the entire world. According to Father Joset's instructions, I have amassed all the necessary information, and have furnished an account of it to Your Reverence and to Father Provincial. I have found Father Gonzalez, the Capitular Vicar of this Diocese,²¹ sufficiently well disposed in our regard. He implores us most earnestly to found at least two schools, one in Northern California and the other in the Southern part of the region. I have found the sentiments of the Catholics here to be in favor of seconding our endeavors. A subscription fund has been set up to obtain funds to enable us to build: this is the American way of doing things and, without such methods, nothing is ever accomplished while, by it, one is able to do things. Two large lots have been offered to me in the Pueblo of San Jose, capital and seat of government in California. . . . Every one seems very encouraging, and every day I receive new support. Nothing is now lacking but Your Reverence's approval to give to this endeavor all the energy it deserves. . . . I await with considerable anxiety the decision of Your Reverence, through the intermediary of Father Provincial [Father Elet] who does not appear to be opposed to this new enterprise. I think that there is no other country in the world where one can do as much good as here in this country of marvels, where everything has the appearance of the fabulous. The population increases enormously day by day. Towns spring up as if by magic. Much good may be accomplished here, for there are many means for doing such deeds; much good likewise may be done because there is here so much evil to be coped with — there are here gambling establishments in which immense sums of money are squandered, and there are houses of debauch opened everywhere by fallen creatures, who arrive from all over the world on many

ships. . . . There are theatres here where immoral plays are staged, where pictures and scandalous tableaux are exposed to the public eye without shame; here, too, usury and all kinds of injustice are perpetrated without any consideration either of charity or of good faith. . . . See, Reverend Father, there are all these evils to destroy! . . . Nothing now remains save that I ask Your Reverence's holy blessing. . . .

MICHAEL ACCOLTI, S.J.²²

Since Father DeSmet had been responsible for bringing Father Accolti to the northwest in 1844 as a volunteer for the missionary field, it will not be inappropriate to end this study with a written expression of opinion by DeSmet on the extension of the Jesuit frontier to California. He thus wrote to a Jesuit friend in Maryland, under date of May 13, 1850:

We received a long letter from Father Accolti dated San Francisco. The ecclesiastical and civil authorities and the people in general were very anxious to see a college opened by our Fathers in the Golden Region. Land and money to that effect have been offered already. The grand question is,— from whence the FF [*sic*] and the brothers will come. Father Accolti, indeed, invited them from the United States, with all the necessary paraphernalia, as books, etc. required for such an institution. He even is of the opinion that it would be a great saving to have the school framed in New York or elsewhere and send it on by steamboat. . . .²³

These were the plans of a man of action as well as one who entertained large ideas. To Michael Accolti, then, goes the principal credit for the Jesuit arrival in San Francisco in 1849.

NOTES

1. Sermon, "A Grain of Mustard Seed . . . Becometh a Tree," preached by Rev. Zacheus J. Maher, S.J., in St. Ignatius Church of the University of San Francisco, Dec. 8, 1949. Printed in *Monthly Calendar* of St. Ignatius Church, Dec. 1949.

2. Sermon, "The Centenary of the California Province," preached by Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S.J., in St. Ignatius Church of the University of San Francisco, Dec. 11, 1949. Printed in *San Francisco Quarterly*, XVI (Winter, 1949).

3. It is interesting to record here that a forthcoming study by Rev. Peter M. Dunne, S.J., chairman of the department of history, University of San Francisco, will concern itself with the complete story of the "Jesuits in Lower California."

4. See *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXV (Jan. & Apr. 1944), 24-43, 121-42, for a thorough and critical study by Rev. William Lyle Davis, S.J., entitled: "Peter John DeSmet and the Journey of 1840." Father Davis, who is at present the head of the history department at Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash., is making a long-term project the critical biography of Father DeSmet. In an effort to free DeSmet from much uncritical and inaccurate data concerning him, Father Davis has journeyed to Europe to explore various archival holdings on the great Belgian-born Jesuit. Students of DeSmetiana will await with great interest the publication of Father Davis's findings.

5. A quite generally satisfactory account of the Accolti-DeSmet journey will be found in Gilbert J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), II, chap. 24, "The Oregon Missions, I."

6. "Michael Accolti, Gold Rush Padre and Founder of the California Jesuits," a paper read by the present author before the Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association, annual meeting at Mills College, Oakland, Dec. 30, 1949.
7. *The Letters of John McLoughlin* . . . (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1944), III, 36, McLoughlin to Gov. *et al.*, Vancouver, Aug. 12, 1844.
8. Fathers Nobili and Accolti are listed for the first time in American records in the official "Catalogue" of the vice-province of Missouri for 1845. The present author consulted a rare set of these official listings, now preserved in Missouri Jesuit archives in St. Louis, Mo. Translating from the Latin, he here presents the Accolti-Nobili listings, 1845-1852:
 - 1845—"Beyond the Rocky Mts."—i.e., the Oregon country.
Fr. P. DeSmet . . . , Fr. J. Nobili, Fr. M. Accolti.
 - 1846—"Residence of St. Francis Xavier, Willamette [*sic*]."
Fr. John Nobili, Fr. M. Accolti, Minister of the house.
 - 1847—Same, except that Accolti is now listed as "Superior" of Willamette, while Nobili is listed as a "missionary making trips to 'Vancouver.'"
 - 1848—Same, except that Accolti is now listed as "Minister," i.e., of the Residence again. Nobili is still engaged in missionary tours.
 - 1849—Accolti appears as "Superior of the Whole Mission"; this appointment was indeed made at Rome, but Accolti did not find out about it until he received the news in San Francisco. Fr. Nobili is listed as at a new "Residence" in New Caledonia.
 - 1850—Same as preceding year.
 - 1851—No catalogue printed.
 - 1852—Frs. Accolti and Nobili are omitted entirely from Missouri Jesuit records—as, indeed, is the entire personnel of the Rocky Mountain sector. This was because the exact status of the group, i.e., what dependency it was to have on an established Jesuit group, was in question. This perplexity was solved in August 1854, with a dependency established between the Rocky Mountain apostolate (including California endeavors, too) and the Turin, Italy, Jesuit province.
9. Father Joset's copy of the Roothaan original (in Latin) was translated by the present author. It is preserved in Oregon Jesuit Archives, Spokane, Wash.
10. Accolti to Rev. P. Jenkins, S.J., St. Francis Xavier Residence, Willamette, March 16, 1847. Original is in London Jesuit Archives; photostatic copy in Oregon Jesuit Archives.
11. Latin original of this report on Accolti is in Central Jesuit Archives, Rome; photostatic copy in Jesuit Archives, Loyola University, Chicago, Ill. Translation by present author.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Eloquent Indian: the Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit* (Stanford University Press, Dec. 1949). See especially chapt. 1, "The California Catholic Church, 1840-1849: A Report on Religion."
14. *Ibid.*, chapt. 3, "The Jesuits in San Francisco, 1849-1861," note 3.
15. J. A. Elet to J. Roothaan, St. Louis, Mo., March 4, 1849. French original is in Central Jesuit Archives, Rome; photostatic copy in Jesuit Archives, Loyola University, Chicago.
16. A. M. A. Blanchet, "Letter Book" (unpublished), 109-111; letter of July 13, 1849, Oregon City, to Fr. Brouillet, vicar-general; French copy translated by present author. "Letter Book" is in Archives, Diocese of Seattle, Wash., preserved in chancery office there.
17. F. N. Blanchet, "Journal" (manuscript, in Archives, Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon, preserved in chancery office there), entry for "October, 1849."

18. "The Descent on California in 1683," this *QUARTERLY*, XXVI (Dec. 1947), 309-19.
19. *Eloquent Indian* (as in note 13 above), chapt. 3, p. 30, note 4, where the author discusses this cardinal point in the Jesuit story in California.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
21. José María de Jesús Gonzales Rubio, O.F.M. (1804-1875), was the administrator or "Governor of the Mitre" of the diocese of both Californias, 1846-1850, i.e., in the interregnum between the death, on April 30, 1846, of "El Ilustrísimo, Señor Fray Francisco García Diego y Moreño," first bishop of the diocese, and the advent of Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., as his successor, on Dec. 6, 1850.
22. French original of this letter is in Central Jesuit Archives, Rome; photostatic copy at Loyola University, as above in note 11. Translation by present author.
23. P. J. DeSmet to "Rev. Fr. Lancaster, S.J." Copy is in DeSmet "Letter Book," St. Louis University.

Documentary

[Steam Paddy, 1852]

KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents. That I, Charles Minturn, of San Francisco, State of California, for and in consideration of the sum of Five dollars, to me in hand paid by James Cunningham, of said place, the receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge, and for and in consideration of certain sales and transfer of property made by said Cunningham to me of even date herewith, have bargained sold and transferred and by these Presents do bargain, sell and transfer unto the said James Cunningham, ALL my right, title and interest of in and to the Steam Paddy or Excavator, now or lately used in Happy Valley with all and singular the machinery, gearing and appurtenances of every description, belonging or appertaining thereto, also all the Rail Road iron not used used or in use in and about the business of excavating, situate as aforesaid. Also the Locomotive and Tender, and all the appurtenances. Thirty cars, more or less, nine Horses, also the stable and all property, belonging thereto or contained therein and all and every kind and description of movable property connected or relating to the aforesaid described property, and also all debts, dues, and demands, due or to grow due by reason of the business of said Excavating or growing out of the same, said Cunningham to pay all debts due or to grow due by the excavator.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the aforesaid goods, chattels and effects choses in action, debts due and demands unto the said James Cunningham his Executors, administrators and assigns for ever, so that neither I the said Charles Minturn, nor any other for me or in my name, shall have or claim the same.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Twenty fourth day of November A. D. 1852. Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Chas. D. Judah

CHARLES MINTURN
JAMES CUNNINGHAM

Gen. M. G. Vallejo and H. H. Bancroft

By MADIE D. BROWN

USUALLY statesmen with ability are conscious of the importance of the roles they are playing. Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was no exception; he once said that the history of California could not be written without referring to him and his brothers.¹ Vallejo's pride was justified. He had participated in conquering the wilderness in Alta California and in colonizing its frontiers, and, being aware of the designs of the "Great Powers" on the province, had taken means to oppose their plans. In a speech at Santa Rosa on November 8, 1887, he said:

I remember when there came to my house, in Sonoma, Sir George Simpson, Governor of India; Governor Douglass and Governor McDougal, with all their retinue in 1838 and in 1841, and they asked me if I would work for the protection of England. They said, "We are here to help, and we have steamers, Commodore so and so." And I told them this: "That I be hanged if I accept any European power to keep this country." . . . Afterwards French Consul John Gascet, a Frenchman who was in Monterey, and another who was in Los Angeles, came to me to ask the protection of France, and I gave them the same answer, and a little harder, because they understood Spanish. . . .²

But he had encouraged the immigration of Americans by giving them both help and supplies. He did this because he admired the principles and ideals upon which the American nation was based, and he went so far as to antagonize the Mexican government and his own kin by advocating annexation of California to the United States.³

Another characteristic of statesmen is that they are in the habit of preserving their official papers and of chronicling the passing events for posterity. In this, too, General Vallejo was no exception. Minus the ones taken during the Bear Flag episode,⁴ his records were in the library of Casa Grande, the home he first built in Sonoma, facing the plaza. With them as references and as checks upon his own fine memory, he started to write the history of California, but a great fire burned the Casa Grande on April 13, 1867, destroying much of his manuscript and many of the documents.⁵ He did not have the heart to undertake again such a laborious task—nor the time, because he was busy with efforts to recoup his personal fortune,⁶ for the support of his family and the education of his numerous children. The necessity for an education was fully realized by General Vallejo. A letter written in 1846 to his foster son, José Mariano Vallejo, at school in Valparaiso, Chile, expresses his views.⁷

Beloved Son:

Sonoma, Dec. 4, 1846

It was under unfortunate circumstances that I received your last letter because I was a prisoner in the fort at Sacramento at the beginning of the change-over in this country, now in the possession of the Americans as you probably know.

You can imagine how worried and disturbed I was, and especially so to receive news from you that neither my letters nor my remittances of money for your course of studies have arrived at their destination. I am now remitting in care of Mr. Atherton a draft in triplicate for 500 pesos and I am recommending to another gentleman that he open for my account a sight draft to cover the costs of your education and necessary expenses.

I wish like you that Andronico were there acquiring the precious and enduring treasure of education, but as yet this has not been possible. In spite of attempts, because of his physical makeup, although apparently strong, he cannot stand a sea voyage. He gets so very seasick that I don't dare send him off on a ship. It is possible that *now* it will not be necessary for parents to send their children away in order to give them an education. I hope that soon we will have in California, where up to now ignorance and stupidity have been enthroned, establishments in care of capable professors who will dissipate the dense darkness in which we have lain dormant until now. A fortunate era for youth! I only wish, dear son, that your father had an opportunity such as you have to acquire an education. Make the most of it, José.

You have of course learned something of Mythology and know that Saturn [the god Mercury] has wings. Yes, my son, and Time has wings and flies very rapidly. I would gladly give all my possessions to return to your age and to find myself in the circumstances in which you find yourself now. But you well know the scarcity there has existed up to now of all means of education and that little which I was able to acquire was at the cost of sleepless nights, hard study and steady persistence. But I lacked someone to direct and guide me and you have them willing and capable. Show appreciation therefore by application to your work and by fulfilling my hopes.

Fortune is fickle. You know "she" is shown as a figure with her eyes blindfolded, one foot upon a wheel and casting forth quite by chance the contents of the Horn of Plenty she holds in her right hand. Fortune gives today and tomorrow takes away. But wisdom is not like the gifts of Fortune, exposed to vicissitudes and losses. It is dependable and durable wealth. He who possesses it is given special consideration, attention and appreciation even though he may lack riches (and the latter come with the possession of the former). How many faults are committed through ignorance. How many evil tendencies are checked by education. Another allusion to Mythology: the pagans pretended that evil came forth from Pandora's Box, but I say that it has its origin in ignorance and is the offspring of the vile Midas.

I don't think it is necessary, but it behooves me to admonish respect and deference toward your teachers; that you avoid all bad company; that your friends be honorable and not harmful. . . . Read good books of high morality and do not buy any without the approval of your teachers and advisers.

Andronico, Fanita, Adela and Natalia received the stamps which you sent

them. They send you affectionate embraces and also some gold coins with which to buy sweets. They await anxiously your return to the bosom of your family and they miss you more and more. Greetings from Guadalupe, Jovita and Uladislao. And finally your parents send you their blessing and wish you every thing that is good.

M. G. VALLEJO

Translated, from the Spanish, by Edwin P. Bly of San Francisco

In this letter, Vallejo says to his foster son, "Read good books." He had been doing this, himself, for many years, starting to acquire them in his early twenties when he was a young officer at the presidio in San Francisco. At this time the *Leonor* arrived in the harbor and in its cargo were several boxes of books, some of which were on the list of writings banned by the California clergy, who, to quote Vallejo, "kept guard over all the ports and bays of San Francisco, like St. Peter at the gates of heaven, to prevent the entrance of books of a liberal tendency."⁸ Four hundred hides and ten kegs of tallow made up the purchase price for the volumes, which included the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau. Vallejo shared them with his nephews, José Castro and Juan B. Alvarado, both near his own age. José was engaged to a devout girl who thought it her duty to tell the padre; as a result, the three young men were excommunicated, until a promise was exacted from them that they would not permit the books to be placed in the hands of irresponsible or non-intelligent people.⁹

In the burning of the Casa Grande, over 12,000 of Vallejo's books were said to have been destroyed.¹⁰ Among those saved—because they had been already transferred from the Casa Grande to his second home, "Lachryma Montis"—were the scarlet and gold bound *Spanish Classics*, bought in New York in June 1850 from Roe Lockwood & Son, who wrote a lengthy letter, saying in part:

About two weeks since, Thomas O. Larkin showed us a commission from you to purchase some Spanish, French and English books together with some music and drawing materials to the amount of one thousand dollars. . . . After looking over our stock he [Larkin] ordered a set of the Spanish Classics.¹¹

The books of this set are on the shelf of the general's bookcase in the state-owned historic landmark of Lachryma Montis at Sonoma. Also in this old mahogany bookcase is a beautifully bound set of the works of a fellow book-lover, Hubert H. Bancroft, who said of himself, "Books! Books! I revelled in books."¹² The first volume of the *Native Races of the Pacific States* bears the inscription, "General M. G. Vallejo, from his greatly obliged and devoted friend, Hubert H. Bancroft." On the reverse side of the fly-leaf, General Vallejo has written in Spanish, "To my friend H. H. Bancroft, author of the work entitled 'Native Races of the Pacific States.'" Below this inscription are the following lines, as translated by Donald Page of Berkeley.

FOR
SCIENCE

Stupendous work, and thou full proud
Shouldst be, who hast the world o'er turned
To seek the source of vagrant man,
Who sprang from Vesta and from Uranus.

FOR
HISTORY

Hast sought to rend Arcanum's veil,
And with thy learning deep reveal
From whence the Indian races stemmed
That Spaniards found in the New World.

FOR
BANCROFT

Oh famous work, enriched with gems
Of study and of complex thought,
But that thy meaning makes full clear.
With clarion's peal has Fame proclaimed
Thy learning, and to thee inscribed
The prize that thou hast justly won.

Lachryma Montis
Dec. 25, 1875

M. G. VALLEJO

When Bancroft decided to utilize the vast library he had accumulated, as book dealer and collector, by writing a history of the Pacific coast, he addressed several letters to General Vallejo asking for information on the "untold past."¹³ He received only polite, but non-committal, letters in return, so he directed Enrique Cerruti, one of the assistants in his historical writing, to start a correspondence with General Vallejo. Cerruti, a native of Turin, Italy, and a soldier of fortune recently in South America, had called upon Bancroft in 1873 with a letter of introduction from former State Senator Phillip A. Roach, a friend both of Vallejo and Bancroft. At this time Cerruti was thirty-seven; he was slight in figure and had dark protruding eyes and glossy black hair. His clothes, inexpensive but neat, were topped by a black beaver hat.¹⁴ Bancroft engaged his services. With his initiative, loyalty and tireless energy, Cerruti succeeded in winning his employer's approbation; and as Bancroft was convinced that General Vallejo could disclose more than he professed, he gave Cerruti the difficult assignment of approaching the general.

According to Bancroft, Cerruti opened the campaign by addressing a letter to Vallejo in which he stated that he also was a general, and, though but a consul-general, he had seen service; that he had heard of General Vallejo, as had indeed all Bolivia and Italy and every other country; that wherever California was known, there the children lisped the name of Vallejo; in fact, "Vallejo" and "California" were synonymous. Bancroft gives March 24, 1874, as the date of Cerruti's letter.¹⁵ The one at Lachryma Montis is dated March 22, 1874; it is restrained in tone and lacks entirely the exaggeration indicated by Bancroft.

San Francisco, March 22, 1874

Senor General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo,
Sonoma
Dear Sir:

Being occupied at the present time in writing the history of California and

especially that part dealing with the arrival of the Americans in this country, I am very desirous "Citizen" General, that you should find it convenient to supply me all possible data concerning your family; I already have details, regarding the Pico, Guerra, Pacheco and many other families and my book would not be complete without full particulars of the Vallejo family.

Thus I hope that you will not fail to answer this note telling me whether I should go to Sonoma to copy such information from the files of the Vallejo family or whether you can send it by mail. Whatever detail may pertain to the history of California (before Fremont's arrival) will be deeply appreciated by

Your humble servant
ENRIQUE CERRUTI

Translated, from the Spanish, by Edwin P. Bly of San Francisco

On this letter from Cerruti, the general wrote, in Spanish: "Answered the 24th of the same month." The first draft of his reply to Cerruti was also found among Vallejo's letters at Lachryma Montis. It corresponds with portions as quoted by Bancroft, and is given below.

Lachryma Montis, Sonoma Valley
March 24, 1874

Consul General Henry Cerruti
Dear Sir

Your very kind and generous letter dated the 22nd of this month was received in good time and I must reply saying that I very much appreciate the comments you make in it about mentioning in the History of California, which you are now about to conclude, the humble name of the Vallejo family, a name with which the undersigned feels honored to be identified. However humble and insignificant, this name is related and connected in such a close manner with the history of upper California, since its founding, Senor Consul, that its omission in such a history would be like the omission of periods, commas and accentuations in a beautifully written discourse. I should like with all my heart to be able to send you a written record of all the points you ask about, for completing your history, but it is best that I should follow your idea of having you come to Sonoma to make your own notes. My age and infirmities do not permit me the pleasure of doing otherwise. It would be too heavy a task and besides this my rhetorical style would not be appropriate to your purpose. It is therefore my desire to be the narrator of the historical and biographical episodes that you request rather than trust their composition to my poor talents in such matters.

You can consider yourself at home here in Sonoma and I shall be at your orders.

Your friend and humble servant
M. G. VALLEJO

Translated, from the Spanish, by Edwin P. Bly of San Francisco

After receiving this courteous letter from the general, Cerruti wrote him

that he would leave San Francisco on Saturday, March twenty-eighth.¹⁶ Upon arrival at Lachryma Montis, he realized, Cerruti said, that he was in the presence of a person of literary taste, and, further, that here was a man who was anxious for some one, endowed with the proper talent, to engage in the task of giving to the world a true history of California. Cerruti then said that such a writer was H. H. Bancroft—that he could compete in excellence with Thomas B. Macaulay and William H. Prescott. (It was natural to mention these historians, both of whose deaths had occurred only a little over a dozen years previously, i. e., in 1859.) Cerruti's trip to Sonoma, he went on to say, had been made at the request of Bancroft, who had directed him to purchase or secure as many original documents as possible.¹⁷

At first, Vallejo assured Cerruti that he had nothing in the way of documents, and that he could not be prevailed upon to dictate his recollections. Cerruti was not discouraged. He became a frequent visitor at Lachryma Montis and gradually won the general's interest: the latter began to bring out a few documents which he gave Cerruti permission to copy. These were increased until finally Vallejo told him that there were two other chests of papers which had not been disturbed since the fire; he was willing for Cerruti to make copies of them also. But there was to be no outright gift at that time. As to his recollections, that was another matter. He was prepared to dictate them.¹⁸ Work was started in April 1874. Two months later, Cerruti brought Vallejo to Bancroft's library in San Francisco where every courtesy was extended to him, the upshot being that, to Bancroft's "astonishment and joy," he signified his desire to give his priceless collection of documents to the historian. When criticised for giving them to a private individual, Vallejo replied in the *Sonoma Democrat* (see *Literary Industries*, page 395), affirming his confidence in Bancroft, "who has taken upon himself the arduous task of giving to the world a complete history of the country in which I was born and therefore I believed it my duty to offer to him the documents in my possession."

Vallejo never accepted any compensation from Bancroft and spent much of his own money in traveling to secure the narrations of his fellow Hispano-Californians, and in encouraging them to entrust personal and other papers to the historian's care. For almost two years Cerruti and Vallejo devoted their energies to this work and to the transcription of the general's "Historia de California." In his presentation letter of November 16, 1875, made public by Bancroft, Vallejo said that he had concluded "to place my five volumes of manuscripts at your disposal. . . . Your work will be accepted by the world, which already knows you for a trustworthy writer. . . ." Bancroft, in a lengthy response, thanked Vallejo "for your noble contribution to the history of this western land"; also for some fifty large folio volumes of his personal papers and documents, thus preventing their loss to posterity, and for

his influence in securing similar material from his countrymen's official and family archives.¹⁹

Vallejo's and Bancroft's exchange of letters was published at the time in leading journals, English as well as foreign, many of the clippings of the correspondence being pasted by Vallejo in a scrapbook. For many years their friendship continued; they paid visits with their families to each other's homes and at intervals letters passed between them. In October 1876, when Cerruti took his life at the Union Hotel in Sonoma, it was Vallejo who wrote the sad news to Bancroft, then in Connecticut. Bancroft's reply, in the collection at *Lachryma Montis*, follows:

114 Chapel Street, New Haven
2nd Nov. 1876

My dear General:

It seems to me that more than most men you have been visited with affliction of late. Death and misfortune have waited on you. The circumstances attending General Frisbie's troubles I am not familiar with but I know you to be closely connected with him both in a business and family way.

The matter of Cerruti has filled me with sorrow. I do not know that his friends could have done anything to prevent it. To have relieved him by paying his indebtedness, for me, with all my other burdens would have been simply impossible. Nor would pecuniary relief in my opinion have permanently prevented his excesses. Money given him would only have sunk him deeper in the whirlpool of speculation. I myself feel the catastrophe as a severe blow, a blow not only on my heart and head but upon my work. It will be a loss to the country also, for he would have saved much that now must perish.

To you, General, I tender my heartiest sympathy. It is the irony of life that life consists for the most part in dying. Our path is strewn with dead hopes, dead friends and at the end sits Death with open arms to embrace us.

With regards to Mrs. Vallejo and the young ladies

I am Very Sincerely yours,
H. H. BANCROFT

The particular "misfortune" to which Bancroft refers in this letter was the failure, in the town of Vallejo in September 1876, of the Vallejo Savings and Commercial Bank, of which his son-in-law, John B. Frisbie, was president. W. C. Ralston's Bank of California had closed its doors on August 26 of the previous year. In both of these banks General Vallejo lost a great deal of money, and with the idea of regaining some of his lost fortune he and Frisbie went to Mexico. They arrived there the latter part of May 1877, remaining until October while they tried to promote the construction of a railroad that would connect Mexico City with the ports on the Pacific.²⁰ Soon after General Vallejo's return to California, Bancroft wrote him the following letter, now in the collection at *Lachryma Montis*:

My dear General

I am just in receipt of your very kind letter announcing your safe return, for which we all cannot be too thankful.

I am impatient to see you and hear from your own lips all about your adventures in Mexico. You and General Frisbie have made yourselves famous since you have been gone.

Of course I will lend the *Native Races*. I am sorry to have made you so much trouble. Shall I send the books by mail, or to the Consul here? I hardly know how Cerruti sent things to Mexico. Poor Cerruti!

I have just been writing up my *Literary Industries* in which you and he figure to the extent of several chapters. In the history of California, likewise, your name appears oftener than any other man.

I hope all my work will be done to your satisfaction. It is good to know that you are back again. Tell me the day when you will be in San Francisco so that I may meet you there. I should be delighted to see you at my little house in Oakland which I have rented for the winter only.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Vallejo and the young ladies. Mrs. B. and Kate desire to be kindly remembered

Very Sincerely

H. H. BANCROFT

566 11th St. Oakland
Dec 28th 1877

"I hope all my work will be done to your satisfaction"; so wrote Bancroft the correspondent in 1877. But in 1886, when volume five of his *History of California* made its appearance, Vallejo resented Bancroft's comments regarding his so-called annexation speech, reported first in Lieut. J. W. Revere's *Tour of Duty*.²¹ According to Revere, at a meeting of the military junta held on March 27, 1846, in the home of the American consul, Thomas O. Larkin, Vallejo had expressed himself in refutation of the proposals to annex California to France or England, and in favor of annexation to the United States. Said Bancroft (pp. 62-63 in the above volume):

A desire to be strictly accurate, the leading motive of all historical researchers, compels me to state that I believe all that has been said of this meeting, including the eloquent speeches so literally quoted, to be purely imaginary. No such meeting was ever held and no such speeches were ever made. . . . I am very sure that General Vallejo's memory has been greatly aided by his imagination.

Heretofore Vallejo had contented himself with noting Bancroft's errors in the *History of California* by comments on bookmarks placed in his personal volumes or by such remarks as "Que absurdo!" (What nonsense!) in the books' margins. But the letter received from his old friend, Maj. W. F. Swasey,²² relative to Bancroft's views on the junta meeting and Vallejo's speech, gave him the opportunity of expressing himself on this debated incident.

Major W. F. Swasey,
Dear Major Swasey:

Sonoma, August 31, 1886

I received your letter of the 24th of this month in which you allude to Mr. Bancroft's denial in regard to a certain speech I made at Larkin's house in 1846 in consequence of a Junta held at Larkin's residence at Monterey. Mr. Bancroft calls it a "myth" and a creation of my own imagination and I am sorry that all those persons that were present at the time are dead and gone except yourself. And I assure you that I thank you most heartily for recalling this subject to my memory, as you are the only person surviving that was present, at that time acting Consular secretary to Mr. Larkin.

Mr. Bancroft is certainly very ungrateful and has no reason to doubt what I have told him, or written for him in regard to the historical facts of this coast and I wish that if what I have written for him, is considered in his estimation all fabricated by me, to return to me what I have written and then Mr. Bancroft will be at liberty to select such a person as he may consider more trustworthy and whose assertions may not be considered as "myths" or lies. When I went to Monterey the following persons accompanied me, Col. Prudon, Captain Salvador Vallejo, Francisco Sanchez, J. B. Cooper, Governor Alvarado and Prado Mesa and our object was to prevent the Junta at Santa Barbara which we accomplished.

You must remember that at that time there arrived at Monterey, the war vessel Chyanne [Cyane] and Captain Du Pont was in command and Mr. Gillespie came on that vessel. On the same night of their arrival, Governor Alvarado gave a grand ball at his residence at Monterey and we all suspected Gillespie of being a commissioner or spy and he was immediately sent to overtake Fremont after his retreat from Gabilan Mountain.

When I see you at San Francisco on my next trip, I will tell you of several meetings I have had with General Castro and several others, which I do not want to reveal until the time comes.

I am very thankful to you for writing me this last letter so I might be able to put these points which are in doubt in their right light. Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain

Your Most Obedient Servant

M. G. VALLEJO

Transcribed from Vallejo's copy in Lachryma Montis collection. According to Henry S. Swasey, art dealer of Berkeley and son of Maj. W. F. Swasey, his father's letters were destroyed by fire.

Corroboration of a later date comes from P. J. Healy in an article entitled, "Discovery of a Letter that Our Historians Could Not Find," in the *Sunday Examiner Magazine* (date and page not specified on sheet), now in the Lachryma Montis collection.²³ Healy quotes Josiah Royce as affirming in his *California* (Boston & New York, 1886, pp. 173-74) Bancroft's view that "... no official or other contemporary MS. record of such a meeting is

known to Mr. Bancroft's library, nor is such a record . . . discoverable in the archives; and as for Larkin, he, who could not possibly have been ignorant of such a junta, knows absolutely nothing about it, as appears from his letters to the State Department." Healy expresses the opinion that it was quite probable that Consul Larkin sent his official account of the junta to the state department and the department kept the information in a restricted file. The fact that Larkin was *not* ignorant of the junta is evident from a portion of his letter, dated from Monterey on April 13, 1846, to the American vice-consul at San Francisco, William A. Leidesdorff. Healy reproduces Larkin's letter in facsimile and translates the last half of his first paragraph as follows: "We have Senors Castro, Castro the prefecto, Carrillo, Vallejo, Alvarado and Prudon here acting as a council of war. They may hold sessions for a month to see what good can be done for the country. I hope they may find out and act on it when found."

By 1886 General Vallejo had reached that period of his eventful life when the many years of action were behind, and the quiet ones ahead were, at best, few. The welfare of his native country had been uppermost in his mind; it was natural that he should wish that his advocacy of its annexation to the United States should be told correctly.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. R. R. Emparan for permission to reproduce here certain letters from the Lachryma Montis collection; and to the Bancroft Library for similar courtesy in the use of their material.

NOTES

1. Henry [*sic*] Cerruti, "Ramblings in California," San Francisco, 1874 (manuscript in Bancroft Library), p. 12.

2. State Board of Horticulture, *Third Biennial Rept.* (Sacramento, 1888), p. 154. Earlier in the proceedings of the eighth state fruit-growers convention, Vallejo spoke of himself thus: "I would be glad if I could speak the English language correctly, but I will try and do my best to speak a few words to you in my broken English . . . [*ibid.*, p. 75]. I am not a Yankee, but I am a kind of Yankee and a half . . . [*ibid.*, p. 77]." Earlier in his speech Vallejo said it seemed that "everybody was a Governor"—which probably accounts for his free and rather anachronistic use of the appellation in connection with James Douglas and John McDougal, though the reference to the latter as an anglophile is obscure. India was, of course, a stretch beyond Sir George Simpson's administrative orbit as governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s territories in North America. Louis Gasquet was French consul in Monterey, 1845-47.

3. Joseph Warren Revere, *Tour of Duty* (New York & Boston, 1849), pp. 28-31.

4. Testimony before the land commission, June 6, 1855, U.S. court, northern district of California, case no. 404.

5. Letter to H. H. Bancroft, Nov. 16, 1875 (clipping in scrapbook, Lachryma Montis collection).

6. There were many ups and downs in General Vallejo's fortunes. For example, when he and his associates (John B. Frisbie, Salvador Vallejo, J. M. Estill and Robert Allen) were bonding themselves on Feb. 19, 1851, to carry out their proposition respecting the

permanent seat of government in California, the general swore before Notary Robert R. Pierpont that he was worth "one million dollars over and above all liabilities or demands against him. And deponent further saith that his entire estate is unencumbered and further saith not." Some eleven years later, news, received in April 1862, that his title to Soscol rancho (on which Vallejo and Benicia were built) had been rejected, was a crushing blow. But in 1863 Congress ruled that actual purchasers should have preference to enter the land at \$1.25 per acre (Sen. bill no. 537, 37th Cong., 3d sess.). In spite of this, by 1866 General Vallejo's finances were in a desperate situation. Mrs. Vallejo dried fruit and chili peppers and shipped them to San Francisco; her proposal, however, to use some of the water from the spring at Lachryma Montis for a public bath, the general declined to consider.

7. "Vallejo Documents" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), XII, #253. At time of letter, the Vallejo children were: Andronico, 12 years old; Fanita, 11; Adela, 9; Natalia, 8; Platon (not mentioned here), 5; Guadalupe, 3; Jovita, 2; Uladislao, 1.

8. Nellie van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), pp. 226-29.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

10. "Vallejo Documents," *op. cit.*, XIII, Pt. 1, p. 193, note at end of invoice. The latter was dated June 11, 1850; it totaled \$1050.92 and covered purchases by Vallejo from Roe Lockwood & Son, book dealers of New York. "It is understood," says the note, "that all the above books and 12000 volumes more were lost in the great fire . . ."

11. *Ibid.*, p. 179, Roe Lockwood & Son to M. G. Vallejo, June 13, 1850.

12. H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 172.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 383

14. *Ibid.*, p. 365. Cerruti mentions his acquaintance with Roach in his "Ramblings . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 8.

15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 384

16. Cerruti, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 11 ff.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 13

18. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 392 ff.

19. Sonoma *Democrat*, Nov. 27, 1875. Vallejo's letter is dated Nov. 16, 1875; Bancroft's, in reply, Nov. 26, 1875. Bancroft discusses the correspondence in his *Literary Industries*, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

20. City of Mexico *Monitor Republicano*, June 27, 1877.

21. See note 3, above; Vallejo's letter to Pío Pico, embodying views expressed at the meeting of the junta, appears on p. 30.

22. W. F. Swasey wrote *The Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1891).

23. P. J. Healy was a book dealer of San Francisco, at first (1905) at his residence, 14 Laidley St.; but after 1916 he is listed in the San Francisco *Directories* at 1292 Market St. From internal evidence (i. e., the illustrations on the reverse side of the single page remaining, which show Gibson girls and costumes current in the first decade of this century), the date of P. J. Healy's article would be in the early 1900's.

Documentary

Sr. Gen. Don Mariano G. Vallejo
Sonoma

My dear Sir and my chief consideration:

Mr. Bancroft received information that Sr. Don Juan B. Alvarado was very disgusted with him because he imagined that his son Don Enrique had been offered by the firm of A. L. Bancroft & Co. employment for twelve dollars a month, so low, that it seemed it was unworthy of offering even to a Chinaman. After having a conference with the Messrs. H. H. and A. L. Bancroft, he was convinced that there was an error on the part of young Alvarado. He [Enrique Alvarado] was received well by both brothers, accordingly he acted like a gentleman and as a member of a distinguished family, which was appreciated by the Bancrofts; moreover, he was recommended by Gen. Cerruti and merited attention. He was taken to all the departments and entertained and was most grateful.

Regarding employment, Mr. A. L. Bancroft said that there was no vacancy. The first was promised to a young man from Australia and, besides, the rules of the firm were that all young men who entered to practice as apprentices received only twelve dollars a month, because they required information in order to learn conditions and because they took up the time of the employees, high and low, to instruct them. Besides, economy in an establishment of such magnitude is demanded. Don Enrique will be employed when the second vacancy occurs if the conditions are agreeable.

He went afterwards to the library. Mr. Oak and I received him cordially. We had a long conversation during which he said that he had been offered employment in the firm for \$12 a month; he desired to be busy at something and to accept but could not because the family is absent from San Francisco. I took the liberty of writing a request to the Messrs. Bancroft that a letter be sent to Sr. Don Juan Bta. Alvarado giving him the particulars of the case, making amends and banishing all animosity, and asking for continuation of support to Mr. Bancroft, with sentiments of benevolence and friendship. Mr. Bancroft desires to have the good opinion of Sr. Alvarado and you and all the good Californians.

Confer on yourself and all your family my wishes for an increase of perfect health and if in anything I can serve you, command me.

Your appreciating friend and ob't servant
Thomas Savage

Do me the favor of giving my affectionate remembrance to Gen. Cerruti. San Francisco, Dec. 12 [year not given; probably 1875].

Translated, from the Spanish, by Madie D. Brown. Original in the Lachryma Montis Collection.

The Trial of the Hounds, 1849

A Witness's Account

Edited by EARL S. POMEROY

THE trial of the outlaws known as Hounds in San Francisco in 1849 is often cited as an example of early vigilante justice. The episode was of great social significance and yet first-hand accounts are scarce. The fullest primary source is the *Alta California*, which published a seventeen-column review of the proceedings in the steamer edition of August 2, 1849—a rare number of which only one copy is known to have been preserved.¹ Short reports on the Hounds were written by the California correspondent of the *London Times*,² and by the French consul at San Francisco, Patrice Dillon, for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.³ Dillon quoted from Sam Brannan's speech of July 16, 1849; otherwise his article is misleading, and, in parts, more a burlesque than a report. He gives the impression that the Hounds were hanged at once, without any degree of due process. The *Times's* correspondent briefly mentioned "a patient and impartial trial," and referred to the *Alta*.

All or most of the secondary accounts seem to be based on the brief passage in the *Annals of San Francisco*,⁴ which in turn gives evidence of being an abridgment of parts of the *Alta's* report. Even the best of these secondary accounts gloss over significant differences between the proceedings of 1849 and those of 1851 and 1856, or those of the mining camps.⁵ Because of this inadequate treatment, the *Alta's* report deserves the attention of those who seek to go beyond the picturesque and violent in frontier politics. It testifies, in form and tone alone, to the solemnity of the proceedings. Aside from four introductory paragraphs, the report is a conventional record of testimony, addresses, and judicial actions. Further, both the opening address for the prosecution (July 18, 1849), by Francis J. Lippitt (quoted "substantially"), and the charge to the jury delivered by the alcalde (July 20, 1849) include interesting statements of social and legal philosophy, based on ideas of the common law and natural law. Due process was strongly emphasized, perhaps because there had been danger of departure from it in the first stage of the proceedings. "Let us forget every thing but the evidence in this case," said the alcalde, "and in the light of this sworn testimony, *alone*, view the prisoner at the bar, as either guilty or innocent of the crimes charged against him."⁶ Later, during the vigilante movement of 1851, Sam Brannan expressed distaste for the due process of 1849, arguing against choosing a jury: "We had enough of that eighteen months ago. . . . I want no technicalities."⁷

Like Brannan, Hall McAllister (1826-1888) figured in the vigilante movements of both 1849 and 1851; but whereas in 1849 he was associate counsel

for the prosecution, in 1851 he was counsel for the prisoners.⁸ In later years, giving his recollections to H. H. Bancroft, McAllister passed briefly by his activities as prosecutor. The *Alta's* reporter said of them merely that, "The evidence on the part of the Defence having here closed, the case was ably summed up on the part of the Prosecution by Hall McAllister, Esq." (July 20, 1849.)

A portion of a letter, without signature, preserved in the collection of the New-York Historical Society, not only quotes some of McAllister's remarks but gives a more personal and more descriptive view of the proceedings than is to be found in the *Alta*. It commences with "Dear Uncle" and is dated at San Francisco, August 1, 1849. While there are no clues to the author's name, there seems to be no reason to doubt the letter's authenticity. Rubrical markings in another hand suggest that it may have been published in a newspaper.

The first of the two extracts that follow is the entire portion relating to the trial of the Hounds. The second indicates the author's attitude toward the persecution of foreigners. Other miscellaneous observations in the letter are of no great historical significance.

I.

The accompanying copy of the *Alta California* gives you a sketch of their last outrage — of the meeting of Citizens which ensued — of the measures taken to secure the offenders & of the very creditable manner in which the Code of Judge Lynch was modified to meet the Customs of the Common law so far as the exigencies of the case, the lack of Courts, Constables and places of confinement would admit. But it does not do justice to the firmness & unanimity of the Citizens, to the thronged & resolute character of the meeting or to the energy & activity with which the criminals were ferretted out arrested & tried and the peace & quiet of the place restored and guarded by a rapidly organized patrol in whose ranks all the respectable inhabitants cheerfully enrolled themselves.

Conspicuous among the Orators at the meeting in the Plaza was the Mormon *Samuel Brannan* who has forsaken the worship of Nauvoo for that of Plutus — *pro* Mormon lege Mammon — and acquired an immense fortune by the rapid increase of Value in Sacramento City lots. His address was violent & passionate, possessing enough of rude eloquence to produce in his hearers a reflexion of the feelings it portrayed — One of those mixtures of stimulating ingredients which must be taken hot — As I listened to his fiery & somewhat blasphemous appeal I thought it fortunate for the Community that he was [rich enough] not [to be] a hound.

You will have seen in the papers that summary justice prevails in the whole mining region and that offences against property are speedily visited with whipping & banishment & sometimes with the extreme penalty. Mr. Brannan

seemed to have derived his notions of criminal jurisprudence from the usages of the *placer* — But the Community sustained the adoption of such forms as were within their reach and the trial was a fair one — All deserved severer penalties than were inflicted and were condemned to more punishment than could have been obtained by the prosecution at home.

In the first case of the *People versus Samuel Roberts*, Mr. HALL McALLISTER electrified the Court, drew tears from the eyes of the prisoner and sat down amidst plaudits that might have been more appropriately but could not have been more justly bestowed — His argument, his dissection of the evidence and his summing up would have been effective in any tribunal — In the last case, of conspiracy, his address though less elaborate was equally successful. More than a week had elapsed since the commencement of the proceedings and I give you a summary [*sic*] of his remarks from notes taken on the occasion — They deserve notice not only for their point & vigor but for the evidence they manifest of the influence of these trials.

He began by stating “that the circumstances which surrounded us differed from those which attended the two former trials — The throng which then filled the Court Room had disappeared; men had returned to their respective [illegible]; weapons, there in every one’s bosom, had been laid aside and the intense excitement that pervaded the Community had passed away. Why was this? Was it because the novelty of the proceeding had worn off? Because Citizens were no longer interested in bringing to justice the perpetrators of the late outrage? Or was it because the conduct of the Court and the verdicts of the two preceding juries had given Confidence to the public mind — because the Community felt that the Sword of Justice was no longer sheathed — that they had judges dispassionate but unflinching and a Jury of twelve men “good & true,” who would at every hazard *stand by* their oaths and give a verdict “according to the evidence.”

After reviewing the testimony & arguing the law of the Case McAllister Concluded with the following impressive peroration

“It has been proven to the satisfaction of all that there exists in the midst of us a band of men who, having adopted the motto which Milton puts in the mouth of the Arch-fiend

‘Evil be thou my good’

have, under it, perpetrated every outrage in the Catalogue of human Crime — That a struggle has ensued between them and all well disposed Citizens and that it remains to be seen by your verdict which shall triumph — whether Law & Order or Crime & outrage are to prevail. Whether a land which God has so fully blessed, where Nature pours forth her Stores and the Earth opens treasures surpassing the rich imaginings of Ancient fable, is to be Cursed by man. Whether San Francisco, now [?] grasping in one hand the Countless riches of the interior while, with the other, ‘like Venice, she weds the everlasting Seas,’ is to be stricken from her high destiny and whether the

American Eagle — that symbol of Liberty and Law — can indeed spread her pinions from the Atlantic to the mighty waters of the West? Such are the momentous questions which will be answered by your verdict and remember, Gentlemen of the Jury, that these proceedings will hereafter be matter of History and stand recorded as imperishably as the Twelve Tables of Ancient Rome.

I see around us representatives of all the Nations of the Earth—men of enterprize from the four quarters of the Globe who have Cast their lot amongst us, to share the dangers & participate in the riches of this teeming Land. They are met together in this Temple of Justice tonight not with the prurient appetite for morbid excitement but with an earnest desire to learn the issue of this Cause, to see upon what basis things are to be established here and to decide whether Riot & Robbery [or] Law & Order are to be the Sovereigns of the Land. Remember, Gentlemen, that the eyes of the World are upon you, and that ten thousand messengers will bear your verdict into every clime and ‘carve [?] your decision in the characters of every tongue’—

It would be strange indeed if Tyranny in the Old World and the Largest Liberty in the New should be productive of the same disastrous consequences — But I trust that the hour of riot & rapine & lawlessness has passed and that yonder Steamer, that Combined embodiment of native genius & native skill will bear home glad tidings from this advanced outpost of American Liberty.

In Conclusion, Gentlemen, I appeal not to your passions, nor do I attempt to embitter your prejudices. I simply ask of you Justice for the State — I ask it, not only in the name of Humanity, not only for the honor & in the name of our common Country. I ask it in the names of the thousands who have Come here relying upon the protection of its laws, which are those of a free & a just people — I ask it in the names of the tens of thousands now on their way hither across the boundless prairie, over the deadly Isthmus and on the mountain waves of Cape Horn — Let them not only find the hands of Brethren extended to receive them, the arms of Brethren outstretched to embrace them, but, let them find that welcome precious above all to a Freeman — a Community of Law & Order and Institutions breathing that spirit which sanctifies a land even as Worship consecrates a Temple.”

There was something painfully interesting in all these proceedings emanating as they did from men mostly strangers to one another and in the land, exiles from home without the aid of that Government whose laws & traditions all studiously strove to observe — In an humble edifice dignified by the appellation of the school house and sanctified by Divine Worship on the Sabbath the Alcalde flanked by two Judges improvised at the meeting, the prosecuting attornies, the prisoners & their counsel, the Jury and spectators proceeded with a regularity & a decorum worthy of the best appointed Courts — There was no military that Could be Called in to repress any at-

tempt to rescue a body of men whose affiliations were known to extend throughout the Country and with whom the masses of runaway sailors & vagabonds of every description that fill the town were known to sympathise. Genl Riley & Genl Smith, who might have repressed all these outrages, were both absent and had left no representatives — The senior, Judge Dr Gwinn [*sic*] of Louisiana, and the most efficient of the prosecuting attornies [illegible] McAllister of Georgia had but just arrived here — Yet, although such evils as were then being remedied are always the [following sheet missing]

II.

Our countrymen are like pikes who drive out all other fish from a pond. Encouraged by Genl Smith's Continental [?] proclamation from Panama they have expelled most unjustly and, as the future will show, most injudiciously all Foreigners from the mines. Vessels bound down the Coast are filled with Mexican, Peruvian or Chilian emigrants returning home. The country is thus deprived of the only available cheap labor within reach until the yield of the mines shall have fallen off 50%. I am happy to hear that Genl Riley with equal good sense & humanity has gone to the Southern mines with a view to protect such foreigners still there [illegible] & apply for letters of naturalization.

NOTES

1. This is in the state library in Sacramento. The same article appeared in installments in the regular issues of the *Alta* of Aug. 4, 9, and 16, 1849.

2. *The Times* (London), Oct. 3, 1849.

3. Patrice Dillon, "La Californie dans les derniers mois de 1849," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, V (Jan. 15, 1850), 193-219; for English translation, see Abraham P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California; an Archival Calendar-Guide* (Stanford University, 1945), pp. 542-59.

4. Frank Soulé *et al*, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), pp. 558-59.

5. See, for example, Mary F. Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851*, Univ. Calif. Pub. Hist., XII (Berkeley, 1921), 108.

6. *Alta California*, Aug. 2, 1849, steamer edition.

7. Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 318. For account of McAllister's life, see P. O. Ray in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 545-46; and Douglas S. Watson, "The San Francisco McAllisters," this *QUARTERLY*, XI (June 1932), 124-28.

9. Statement on Vigilance Committee in "Vigilance Committee in San Francisco, Miscellany" (MS, 1877, Bancroft Library), p. 15.

10. Catalogued as "Incomplete MSS relating to the formation of government in California. San Francisco, Aug. 1, 1849. 3 pp." The letter was received on May 21, 1926, from Henry R. Drowne.

Documentary

New York 22 May 50

Dear [F. D.] Atherton,

I leave here Saturday morning perhaps Monday morning remain one night in Springfield shall I think leave Boston the 8 or 9 June for the South, to give my two eldest Boys a travel of 20 days Passages are engaged for [J. B. R.] Cooper Mr. & Mrs. [Alfred] Robinson Synder [Snyder, Jacob R.?] & [?] Smith for the 13 of June I shall endeavour to meet them here. I wish to write to Mr. Snyder [?], but hear he has left Phil. if you see him in W[ashington?—envelope missing] show him this letter. I lost my black cane, gold head, marked tomas O. Larkin Monterey Enero de 1 de 1845 [?] Mr. Dexter I think his name was promised to look [?] it up—also Mr. E. L. Childs, P.O.Dept. — write me, when you will be in Boston & New York it's cold here yet—

In much hast [*sic*]
Larkin

Original in collection of A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

Nantucket to the Golden Gate in 1849

From Letters in the Winslow Collection

Transcribed, with Foreword, by HELEN IRVING OEHLER

(Continued)

June 30th

The productiveness of the mines is various. Yesterday a young fellow arrived here from the American fork. He came direct to our house. I saw his leathern bags which he took out of a belt which he wore on his waist. I saw him pour out his gold on a paper where I was writing. The whole weighed to the value of 2900 dollars. He and three others obtained 12000 dollars in 29 days. He belongs in Oregon. He will be ready to get in his crops by the time he gets back there, so he took his quarter and came down. The gold was all large, never smaller than duck shot—mostly as large as buck shot or larger—many pieces the size of pigeon's eggs—and one piece which weighed 28 ounces of solid beautiful gold, as large as a turkey's egg. They were all rounded like pebbles and stones on the seashore and were found among pebbles and stones in hard earth from 2 to 4 feet below the surface.

These four men were within a mile of the trail where all the travel passed up to the mines and not far from Coloma. They were alone and were so apprehensive that they might be discovered by others that they kept secluded the whole time, rarely made a smoke and never made a noise. One day one of their horses got away. One of the party in trying to catch him hallooed too loud and was discovered by some person at a building about a mile off. The man came to their diggings but it happened to be a poor day with them and he went off in disgust and did not revisit them, thinking them great fools to be digging in such a poor place.

This young man told me that the people in his neighborhood were doing badly, not getting more than an ounce per day. He said he never did such hard work. He did all the digging—another did the loading the mules and driving them to the river and the others did the washing of the earth.

July 1st—The Aurora arrived this morning. The captain and crew and passengers were all in good health. The ship came along finely, only they had no wind. They were obliged to go into Talcahuanna and left there 60 days ago.

William Harper has just called on me. He says he has received a letter from his wife informing him of her unexpected delicate situation and he wishes her to have fifty dollars more if she needs it. He can command his 150\$ a month easy as to wink his eye and he says he will pay me if I will see that his wife has it by way of remittance.

My dear Lydia

San Francisco, July 19, 1849

While reading this letter you need entertain no apprehension or alarm on my account. As you will probably hear many accounts and some exciting ones of the unsettled state of society in this place, I have thought it best to inform you of matters as they appear or actually exist. For my own part I do not entertain the same degree of alarm that many do, but the social condition of San Francisco is unpleasant and unsatisfactory. Things are coming to a crisis fast and I have no doubt that law and order will prevail.

Matters are thus—A lot of volunteers during the Mexican war were under service in this territory. They were disbanded at the close of the war or deserted on the breaking out of the gold discoveries. They were a reckless and desperate set of young fellows, many of them. Other young men have come into the territory since, of loose and intemperate and reckless character from different parts of the States, some of respectable origin and decent education.

They have become worse than at home by mingling with the loose society here and at last organized themselves—the whole of these volunteers and these young men—into a gang of desperados and gave themselves the name of the Hounds. They took this name from their custom of going throughout the place every night at eleven o'clock and barking like hounds as a sort of impudent serenade to the quiet and respectable people of San Francisco.

For months things went from bad to worse. They gambled, they drank, they formed leagues for offensive deportment, committed outrages of various sorts, robberies, rapes, murders, arson and thus have been advancing in crime till the community have become so alarmed that they are determined to exterminate them. The very active ones do not exceed 25 or 30 in number but some very respectable people for political motives have favoured them. Among others it is said the conduct of the present Alcalde, Judge Levenworth, is extremely suspicious. He is universally execrated by the most worthy people of the territory and is a man of such character and capacity as renders him wholly unfit for the office which he fills.

The cause of the present state of affairs is recent. The 2d week after I arrived, one of this gang of hounds was shot by a Chilean, so that he died in 36 hours, for intrusions on his wife in his tent. A gang of these desperados was there more or less under the influence of liquor. They were insolent and licentious, and having a pique against these Chileans only because they are foreigners, they insulted and abused them and laid improper hands on their females. One of the Chileans who felt himself the most abused fired his pistol and the man before alluded to was wounded and died soon afterwards.

The immediate consequence was that the Hounds, taking the law into their own hands, pulled the tent down, destroyed the property of the Chileans and they fled for their lives out of town. The Hounds swore vengeance for the death of their comrade—and on Sunday night last they carried their threat into execution. All day Sunday they were excited by liquor, and

marched through the plaza and principal streets blowing trumpets and drumming on tin pans and disturbing the quiet of that day greatly. The Chileans in large numbers are living in tents on the outskirts of town.

About 10 o'clock at night the Hounds made an assault upon them, tore down more than a dozen of their tents, broke open their chests, stole their money, tore their clothing and scattered their property, and fired upon them with pistols intending to kill as many as they could. I went the next morning to see the devastation. It was painful to look upon. Men, women and children were crouched around their miserable little store of property, looking forlorn and wretched. They are a swarthy unlettered race, but are said to be gentle and kindly in their dispositions. They are really pusillanimous and this is why they have become the butt of these desperados. They have felt that they were unprotected.

They have been hunted from the mines and driven from the vallies and have not been allowed to labour or pitch their tents near Americans of a wild and reckless character in the Gold regions. To show the degree of hostility existing in the country to these miserable creatures I will mention this circumstance. While Mr. Fisher was exploring on the Juba river he came to a bridge which had been constructed by a white man. A party of Chileans had come the same way and wished to pass over the bridge. The owner would not allow them to pass and drove them away. He told Mr. F that he could pass and invited him to do so. Alvin told him that he could not use that bridge while those men were driven away without cause and only because they were Chileans. It was near night and he stopped in this man's tent till the following morning and was treated with great hospitality. The next day he mounted his horse and rode several miles till he came to a ford, there crossed the river, and met Gov. Shannon and Mr. Gilman who were on the other side of the Juba waiting for him.

This is the feeling prevailing against these poor creatures by a great number of thoughtless people in the territory. But the Hounds are the most reckless of all.

As I was saying, I visited the spot where some of their tents were destroyed and I went to see three of them who had been dreadfully wounded. One I thought would die. It was reported that several had been killed but I believe that none were dead. It was the intention of the Hounds however to kill many of them.

This outrage has excited the indignation of the respectable people of the place and the greatest turmoil has prevailed. Threats have been made by these fellows and their accomplices to fire the town and cut the throats of citizens who should interfere in their liberty. They have been hunted and arrested as far as they can be found. Twelve of them are on board the *Man of War* which is stationed here—and one, the leader of the row during the day, Roberts of New York, is undergoing his trial at present for all manner of crimes.

On Monday the people began to move—and organized themselves into a police and have kept the town under a sort of martial law ever since. Citizens patrol the town armed during the night and neglect their business during the day to conduct the prosecution and guard the prisoners and the peace of the place.

20th—Yesterday I attended the court over which the Alcalde and 2 judges appointed by the people were presiding. These citizen judges were appointed because the Alcalde is suspected of being an accomplice and sharing the spoils with these desperados. There are many reasons to suppose that he favors their lawlessness and that he is destitute of all moral principles. His conduct in court even is strange and he is not trusted out of sight by the law and order part of the community.

The court was not an exceedingly orderly one but under all the circumstances perhaps it would not appear strange. This is a new country and a curious state of things prevails here. People feel well to each other but their common social habits are rather loose. Smoking among the jurors during the trial would have made you laugh—chatty and a winking, smirking sort of conversation between the Alcalde, the chief judge, and some of the witnesses would have excited your contempt. On the whole among the spectators present (and the school house was full and the steps and windows crowded outside) there was order and a proper state of feeling. Still there is great excitement among property holders and organized parties patrol the town nightly under arms.

You need give yourself no alarm about me. I shall take good care of myself and am not so situated as to be endangered. In fact I do not think there is so much need of alarm as many suppose. The ringleaders and the band are all confined on board the Warren, man of war, and any partizans whom they may have on shore will not dare to act badly while their friends are within reach of the law—if we can call that power law which prevails here at present.

Dear Friend, Charles—

San Francisco, July 21, 1849

The Aurora arrived on the 1st of this month. The lumber was sold for \$280 per M taken at the ship. The boat brought us \$1800. The ship sold for \$10,000. I never worked harder in my life than I did to make that transaction. Considering that there are a hundred and 10 or 20 vessels of all sizes, shapes and qualities and all for sale or to be given away, lying here, bills of expense and constantly subject to accident, you may consider the sale of the ship Aurora at any price a good bargain—but as it was done, quite a miracle.

Simmons has proposed to me to take a friend of his, a physician who is coming from Woodstock in the Magnolia, into partnership and open a hospital. He will throw all the business into the Hospital which his influence here and up the river can command—from one end of the route to the other.

Besides I find a great number of people here who know me, and my reputation here as a medical man stands so high that it seems best to start this concern—though I shall not remain long at it. If Lydia was here I should feel all right about it, but it is not best for her to come nor for the children to be here where there are no educational advantages. When the hospital is started I have little doubt I can make \$1000 a month. A consultation is \$5 and a visit \$8 near at hand. Hospital board and attendance \$10 per day.

How our H Astor business is going to come out remains to be seen. Scarcely a company has come out but what it has become disorganized and broken up. Men are easily moved from their engagements when they arrive here. Alvin has not yet returned from the mines. He is my great dependence to keep things straight with the men and to overcome bad external influences. He was on the Juba the last news I had from him, bound that day (the 4th of July) to the Gold regions of the Feather river and the American forks. He was in company with Gov. Shannon of Ohio and a Mr. Gilman, a very worthy and intelligent gentleman of Baltimore, the leaders of mining companies to come out of whom they are the pioneers. He could not have had more suitable companions. We had all traveled together and a mutual esteem had grown up among us.

Friend Charles—

San Francisco, August 29th

Mr. Fisher has been very sick, so sick that I have neglected everything to look after him. He has been near dying and has escaped only by the providence of God, his own patient and gentle disposition and my uninterrupted care and attention. God knows what the poor fellow's fate would have been had he been taken sick further up the country. Fortunately I met him at Benicia.

I am sorry to see such a migration from Nantucket. It is wrong. I did wrong in coming—but perhaps it is not strange as excitement will drive men mad. There is much distress here among those who are sick and have no means of support. Men frequently die from neglect and are left unburied for hours together for lack of friends. No man should come unless he has some firm friend who will not abandon him in extremity.

The emigrants overland are beginning to pour into the valley of the Sacramento now and they tell a horrid story of the suffering of those who cross the desert. A public meeting was held here to day to consider the means of furnishing them with relief. The quiet of San Francisco is perfect now and has been ever since the municipal action about the desperadoes who disturbed the town a month since.

Gentlemen

San Francisco—Sept. 20th, 1849

It gives me pleasure to inform you of the arrival of the ship Henry Astor. She cast anchor at 10 A M on the 16th inst. With the exception of the death

of Mr. Myrick and some cases of scurvy I can announce to you good news concerning every internal circumstance connected with her passage. . . .

September 25—This enterprise of ours is the most risky of all that could possibly be undertaken. Hundreds of companies have dissolved and their property been sacrificed. Various causes have operated to produce the same disastrous results. If Mr. Fisher had died when he was so sick, the Astor Company would have dissolved within eight and forty hours after their arrival here. No man in Nantucket except Alvin Fisher can keep a company of men together in California and I doubt if he can for 2 years. If he does we ought to pay him well for it.

In sending out provisions for the men send things which will be best against the scurvy, fever and ague. Canistered provisions and vegetables and all sorts of fruits are first rate but very expensive in this country. But dried apples and peaches to stew are good. The fevers and dysenteries of this country are very bad. I do not believe a man will ever be worth much after he has been pulled down by them. They are easy to manage as a general thing when first taken. I have lost no case as yet of the disease here.

(To be concluded)

The Burrell Letters

Edited by REGINALD R. STUART

(Concluded)

[Letter of Dec. 14, 1855, *continued*]

We still continue to feel satisfied and contented with our place though we have but few neighbors and they are continually changing. Our crops did very well last summer and the gardens afforded us an abundance of vegetables and melons, the tomato vines are some of them still green and blossoming. We have fourteen fine peach trees growing in our door yard and quite a number of grape vines we think the grape vines will some of them bear another season; we have two fig trees some courant and gooseberry slips which we intend to set out so soon as Mr Burrell finishes preparing the ground. The winter is the time for transplanting trees here, and we intend to do all we can at it this season we think from the little experience we have had that this will be a very good place for raising fruit especially grapes; fruit trees grow very fast in this country and bear fruit soon. Those we have planted did well last summer without watering and they were not set out till after the close of the rainy season I believe that the curculio and other insects do not trouble the fruit here yet

We succeeded with our dairy business last summer much better than I feared; the first two month the cows did not give much milk and of course we did not make much butter, after that the price of butter fell so much that we found we could not afford to keep a hired man any longer, and I believe he did not care to stay for he did some times see a grizzley along with the cows when he went after them; he stayed with us four months, about the time he left several cows came in and the others gave more milk so that we made some over one hundred pounds of butter a week and the price of butter raised in the course of two months from thirty to seventy cents a pound; we kept the cows seven months and for the last four hundred weight of butter we sold we received two hundred and eighty dollars. As the feed began to grow scarce late in the season we thought it not advisable to try to keep so large a herd any longer and our agreement was only for six months; Mr Burrell then purchaced ten cows with their calves for twenty five dollars apiece; we have also taken six cows and eleven heifers from the man of whom we bought the cows, to keep three years we have half the increase for keeping them and all the butter we can make for taming them to milk; the cows had been runing with their calves all summer so that we only get milk enough now to make what butter we use. Mr Burrell has been working at our house this fall and winter and we find it much pleasanter and more comfortable to have our rooms separated and ceiled, so you see we are geting around us one comfort after another for which to feel thankful; the

children often observe that it was well we did not have every thing finished and to our hand when we first came here for then we not know so well how to prize our comforts and should loose the great happiness of being thankful.

I have an opportunity of sending to the post office and think I will close my letter and send it along without filling the sheet Mr Burrell and the children join in sending much love to all our friends, we hope to receive an answer to this soon

Your affectionate Sister CLARISSA

P S When you write again direct to Santa Clara we can get our mail more readily from there

[No date]

Dear Martha & Clara¹⁵⁵

I was very happy to see a note from you in the bundle and to hear you were geting along so well. Eliza says I must not forget to ask Martha if she made the cake she sent us; if she did she will like to have her come and teach her to make the like. I think it is better than I can make We are all well here I can not say yet, just when I will come home. I hope you will be good girles and love one another and not quarrel give my love to pa and Birney Eliza sends a little piece of calico for you both

Your affectionate Mother CLARISSA

Dear Brother & Sister

The Mountain Home June 1st 1856

Your favor of March 7th reached us some time in May, we were very happy to hear from you and thankful to learn that you were tolerably comfortable during the severe cold of winter; we had heard of the uncomon severity of the season and were afraid of the effect it might have on your broken constitution. The winter was quite a comfortable one with us though perhaps a little colder than the preceeding one. What a loss the society in Tallmadge have met with in the death of Mr Alpha Wright I hardly think there is another person in the community who would be so much missed especially at church; give my love to Mrs Wright and tell her I feel to sympathise with her in her great affliction though I am far away. I hope that his sons will try to make their fathers place good

July 13th I had written thus far in answer to yours of March 7th when some little household matters obliged me to lay aside the pen for the present, not thinking that more than a month would pass before I should take it up again Although the girles do the greater part of the hard work there are a great many things for mother to do that take up the time. About the middle of June I had a call to go down to the valley and spend a little time with Eliza She has another daughter I think it was born the 15th of June I staid with her till her babe was a week old she and her babe were both geting along finely when I left The crops in the valley are very poor this season on account of the small quantity of rain which fell last winter, in many places

the wheat crop will prove an entire failure not even reproducing the seed, and that too on land which in a good season produces from sixty to seventy bushels to the acre. Our land on the mountain does not seem to suffer any as yet with the drouth Mr Burrell has just harvested his wheat, he thinks it the best we have yet raised here, our other crops are all looking well; the apple grafts that we set out last spring are most of them growing nicely and two of the cutings have sent out a limb apiece two feet and a half in length a number of the others are growing some, the pear slips are about one third of them growing, and fifty or sixty peach slips, a few of our quince cutings are growing and the most of the currants, we have five or six hundred grape vines that are flourishing finely, and one of our peach noculates has made a beautiful tree of six feet in length several others have done almost as well and if they grow as long as they did last year they will have time to double their size. In this country the fruit growers let their trees throw out limbs near the ground and trim them off at the top. We have also a seedling peach tree that has come up and grown three feet and a half this season The prospect seems to be fair for our being well supplied with fruit in a year or two Our kitchen garden is remarkably good this year and we have a few flowers in front of our house that lend their aid to make the place look happy. I often look out upon our yard of flourishing vines and trees and think hard indeed must be that heart that could murmur or repine when surrounded by so many tokens of our Heavenly Father,s goodness. True, tis pleasant to have social intercourse with those we love, and to meet with them in the assembly of those who come together to receive instruction from one of their fellow men more gifted or more learned than themselves But this does not appear to be our destiny at present Providence seems to have placed us here, and it would be the height of folly for us to spend our thoughts in useless murmuring and regrets for that which at present we cannot help; besides seting a bad example for our children; for certainly we are surrounded with blessings far more abundantly than we deserve

14th Three weeks ago to day our hearts were made glad by the receipt of your interesting letter of May 7th, the perusal of letters from the old place, seems to carry me back to the senes of other days when with youthful feet I used to traverse those fields, forests and high-ways, gathering trees to ornament the yard or trudging to school in search of useful knowledge; there are many delightful recollections connected with that old place both of earlier and later date often in imagination I am holding sweet converse with you and the dear family at the old house; perhaps the time may come when these visions will be realized, though the prospect is not very flattering at present The political aspect of our country looks rather threatening on either side of the continent, a week or two ago I sent the Doctor two papers giving some account of the troubles in San Francisco The organization of the vigilance committee¹⁵⁶ was caused by the murder of Mr King¹⁵⁷ a man

who was universally respected for his honesty and good morals; he was editing one of the daily papers¹⁵⁸ and took the liberty to expose some of the iniquities practiced in high places. What this state of things will lead to it is impossible to say but we are in hopes that the vigilance committee will hold the power till honest and upright men can be elected to rule over us. Perhaps if we were not so far from Washington governor Johnson¹⁵⁹ and his gambling associates might receive assistance to put down the vigilance committee, as it is they can do nothing for the mass of the people are in favor of the committee. In regard to the books you mentioned sending us, they certainly would be very thankfully received especially by Birney and Martha. Though we do [not] need them so much now as we have done; we are taking the New York Tribune, the Northern Farmer and the San Francisco Herald¹⁶⁰. Birney takes Woodworths Youths Cabinet and Clara has sent for the Little Pilgrim edited by Grace Greenwood,¹⁶¹ so we have considerable reading on hand all the time. I suppose that a box might be sent by clipper around cape horn quite reasonably, it could be directed to Mr Burrell Santa Clara to the care of Bray and Brothers San Francisco. if a letter was sent to us at time it was shipped giving the name of the ship and the time of shipment we should be looking for it

We are all enjoying usual health Mr Burrell and the children join in sending love to all the friends

CLARISSA BURRELL

[Clarissa Burrell to Mrs. Lucy Wright Lewis]

Dear Lucy

The Mountain Home Aug 17th 1856

Yours of June 11th arrived at the mountain Home the 14th of this month, we always have a time of rejoicing when a package comes from Minnesota; but the rejoicing would be abundantly greater if the dear good people would come themselves. Now if it were not for the trouble of pulling up stakes and taking such a long journey I should expect to see you here forth with, but as it is I suppose we shall be obliged to wait about seeing each other till the right time comes. The children often say if Aunt Lucy and her folks only lived on these mountains they would never want to go any where else to visit. Indeed sister Lucy I think this is an admirable place for one to reast in their declining years, you can have just as little company as you please and if you are lone some you can go out and hold converse with the beautiful and sublime in nature where every thing that meets the eye bears the impress of an Almighty hand. Keep up good courage Lucy it may be the time will come when your feet will tread the mountains of California though things do not look much like it now.¹⁶² Many thanks for the papers you sent us though we are taking the Tribune ourselves Mr Burrell joined a club that was getting up in the valley for taking it and gets his copy for one dollar per year he also subscribed for a San Francisco paper but the paper

stoped after we had received our first number¹⁶³ we are some in hopes it will be started again if it does I will occasionally send you a number that you may see what is going on here. I can not remember whether I told you in my last any thing about the troubles in San Francisco and their geting up a vigilance committee to put a stop to murder and gambling; this committee have been strongly supported by the whole mass of population through out the state; they have hunted up or taken and hung four murderers that the legal authorities would probably have let go at large to commit further iniquities; and I think if the vigilance committee had hold of our congressman Herbert¹⁶⁴ they would give him his due. What a shame it is that people in high places can commit almost any outrage and it will be winked at, but if a poor man does the same his life answers for it immediately. I do not know what our country is coming to, but I have some hope that if Freemont¹⁶⁵ is elected and the republican party have the power that we shall have no further extension of slavery if it is not abolished. I have no doubt if the north would once take the stand that no more slave states should be admitted into the union and abide by it and not be frightened by the cry of a dissolution of the union but just tell the south if they wished to dissolve the union they might do so and I think we should soon find them as tame and peaceable as a whip,t spainel. I think I never felt so much interest in politics before for it seems that the salvation of our country depends upon a change of administration and such a change as will give the power to those who will not use it for the extension or upholding of slavery.

Now for home matters and things, that same peach tree that I have been telling you about in all my letters this season is now seven feet ten inches high and still growing. Mrs Eskrose¹⁶⁶ our friend in the valley sent us a dozen or so of peaches from the tree our noculates were taken, they are a fine rich yellow peach, we had them cut up with cream and sugar for our dinner to day, I tell you they were luscious, we have five trees of that kind which are all growing nearly as fast as the big tree Mr Burrell thinks he shall have a hundred peach trees that he has raised this season large enough to set in the orchard next winter he will noculate them this summer, we have also a hundred or more apple trees that were grafted last winter that will be large enough to set our fruit trees have done better thus far than we expected I like to tell you how nicely our fruit trees grow thinking perhaps Mr Lewis may be encouraged by it to set his face towards California, our crops are as good or better than usual this season, the wheat is much better Butter does not bring as high a price this season as it did last, 42 cents is the price at San Jose and Santa Clara but Mr Burrell took some down to Santa Cruze¹⁶⁷ last week and got 62 ½ cents for it half trade and half cash I think your cows must be rather better milkers than ours though I think the feed makes considerable difference we know that cows do not give as much milk on our mountain feed as they do in the valley, but they get much

fatter. I think I told you in my last that Eliza had another daughter added to her family which her husband has named Eva. she is altogether like Eliza,s family of the Burrells as to looks but is one of the most quiet little bodies that ever came along Clara was down there last week and she says that after Eliza has dressed her in the morning she lays her down on the bed and when she has work folks does not take her up but three times in the course of the day; the little one never cries only grunts a little when she gets tired she is quite lively with her hands and laughs a great deal. I think Mr Sikes has given up going to Michigan at least for some years yet. I hope you will have a good visit at Tallmadge, I wish I could be there with you. Some how my health does not seem to be at all good at present, though I am rather expecting every day I shall feel better but that day seems to be long coming I am able to trot about the house most of the day and do a great many little jobs and perhaps if I was not lazy I might do some hard work; but as I am not obliged to do it I let it alone Mr Burrell has not felt so well as usual for two weeks past The weather was uncommonly warm for several days and I think he worked too hard at his harvesting though he is apt not to feel quite so well at this season of the year You see I have filled my sheet and I will say good by with love

Your sister CLARISSA

Dear Martha & Clara¹⁶⁸

(No date)

Pa says he thinks that you get along better when I am at home and the folks think I shall be more likely to get well if I stay here till warm weather It is a great while to be gone from home but if I get well I suppose if get well you wont care I would like to have you send down my gingham dress also that sack that Mrs Taylor gave Clara my other night gown and cap a few of best squash seeds also some string peas. pa says you can come down one at a time and get some new dress [Fragment missing] and some beet seed for [Fragment missing]

YOUR MOTHER

Now be good children and I hope I may get well but I am not any better yet

NOTES

155. Letter written from the home of Mrs. Zenus Sykes in the Santa Clara Valley.
156. The Vigilance Committee of 1856.
157. James King of William. See Dorothy H. Huggins, *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco*, Calif. Hist. Soc. Sp. Pub. 15, 1939, for many incidents concerning King, Casey, and Cora for the years 1854-5.
158. King was the editor of the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*.
159. J. Neely Johnson was elected governor of California, Sept. 5, 1855.
160. The *San Francisco Herald*. John Nugent, editor, tried to follow a "middle of the

road" policy during the Vigilante rule of 1856. As a result, advertising was withdrawn and the paper was forced to suspend publication. John Bruce, *Gaudy Century* (New York, 1948), p. 59.

161. This was Sara Jane (Clarke) Lippincott, 1823-1904, a very popular writer of children's stories.

162. In 1864, after Clarissa's and Dr. Lewis' deaths, Lucy did come to California to be the third wife of Lyman J. Burrell. She lived at Mountain Home until her death in January 1875. Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 264

163. See note 160 above.

164. Probably Philip T. Herbert, Democratic anti-electionist congressman from California. Huggins, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

165. John C. Frémont may not have measured up to expectations, but to some he was the symbol of a new hope in American life.

166. Undoubtedly, Mrs. Alexander C. Erkson, who lived with her husband on the east side of the Alviso-Santa Clara road, about one mile north of its intersection with the Montague road. Her maiden name was Caroline Millard. Probably her mother had been remarried.

167. Mountain Home was about half way between San Jose and Santa Cruz, with a better road during the early years to the latter place.

168. This was Clarissa's last letter.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

- BROWNE, J. ROSS
A Dangerous Journey. Palo Alto, Arthur Lites Press, 1950. 92 p. col. illus. \$5.00.
- CARSON, JAMES H.
Recollections of the California Mines. Oakland, Biobooks, 1950. \$10.00.
- CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS
This Reckless Breed of Men, The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1950. xv, 361 p. illus. \$4.00.
- CODY, ALEXANDER J., S.J.
A Memoir, Richard A. Gleeson, S.J., 1861-1945. San Francisco, University of San Francisco Press, 1950. 215 p. ports. \$3.50.
- CZARNOWSKI, LUCILE K.
Dances of Early California Days. Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1950. 159 p. illus. \$5.00.
- DAKIN, SUSANNA BRYANT
The Lives of William Hartnell. Stanford, Stanford University Press, c1949. viii, 308 p. illus. \$5.00.
- GAGEY, EDMOND M.
The San Francisco Stage, a History. New York, Columbia University Press, 1950. xv, 263 p. illus. \$3.50.
- GALLOWAY, JOHN DEBO
The First Transcontinental Railroad, Central Pacific-Union Pacific. New York, Simmons-Boardman, c1950. x, 319 p. illus., ports. \$5.00.
- HEALD, WELDON F.
Scenic Guide to California. Susanville, H. C. Johnson, 1950. 112 p. illus. \$1.50.
- HOWELL, JOHN THOMAS
Marin Flora: Manual of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Marin County, California. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949. 350 p. illus. \$4.50.
- HUNT, ROCKWELL D.
California's Stately Hall of Fame. Stockton, College of the Pacific, 1950. xxi, 675 p. illus. \$5.00.
- MCBETH, FRANCES TURNER
Lower Klamath Country. Berkeley, Anchor Press, 1950. 76 p. illus., maps. \$1.25.
- MADDEN, HENRY M.
Xantus, Hungarian Naturalist in the Pioneer West. Burlingame, Wreden, 1950. 312 p. illus. \$6.00.
- MANLY, WILLIAM LEWIS
The Jayhawkers' Oath and Other Sketches. Los Angeles, Warren F. Lewis, 1950. xiv, 170 p. illus., map. \$6.00. (Introduction by Arthur Woodward.)
- MANTER, ETHEL (VAN VICK)
Rocket of the Comstock. Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1950. 256 p. plates. \$5.00.
- MARSHALL, JIM
Swinging Doors. Seattle, F. McCaffrey Publishers, c1949. 267 p. illus. \$4.00.
- QUIN, MIKE
The Big Strike. Olema, Calif., Olema Publishing Company, 1949. x, 259 p. illus. \$3.50.
[The San Francisco general strike of 1934]
- READ, JAMES A. and D. F.
Journey to the Gold Diggings by Jeremiah Saddlebags. With an introduction by Joseph Henry Jackson. Burlingame, Wreden, 1950. 80 p. col. illus. \$12.50.

SACRAMENTO BOOK COLLECTORS CLUB

Sacramento Illustrated. With an introduction by Caroline Wenzel. Sacramento, Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1950. xiv, 134 p. illus. \$15.00.

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS

Across the Plains. With introductory note by Oscar Lewis. Berkeley, L-D Allen Press, 1950. 80 p. illus. \$7.50.

TRAVERS, JAMES W.

California, Romance of Clipper Ship and Gold Rush Days. Los Angeles, Wetzel, 1950. 309 p. illus. \$3.75.

WHO'S WHO HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Who's Who in Los Angeles. Los Angeles, Who's Who Historical Society, 1950. illus. \$22.50.

WINTHER, OSCAR OSBURN

The Old Oregon Country; A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation, and Travel. Stanford, Stanford University Press, c1950. xvi, 348 p. illus. \$7.50.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

February 1, 1950, to April 30, 1950

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From AN ANONYMOUS DONOR—San Francisco. Board of Supervisors. *Plan of Proposed Street Changes in the Burned District and Other Sections of San Francisco*. San Francisco, Board of Supervisors, 1906.

From MR. K. K. BECHTEL—*Yerba Buena, St. Francisco California*. [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1950]

From MR. RALPH P. BIEBER—His: California Gold Mania. Reprinted from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 35, no. 1, June 1948.

From MR. ALBERT C. BONNEY—Pictorial pamphlet of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, April 1906.

From THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY FOUNDATION—Hunt, Rockwell D. *California's Stately Hall of Fame*. Stockton, College of the Pacific, 1950.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—California Junior Republic, *Growth is the Law of Life*, Chino, California Junior Republic [n.d.]; Anglo California National Bank of San Francisco, *Annual Report*, 1949; Alameda County, *Alameda County Government*, Oakland, 1949; Collection of historical materials relating to the Bay Area, the Irwin Memorial Blood Bank, and the Berkeley Women's City Club.

From MR. AUBREY DRURY—His: *How to Retire to California*. New York, Harper & Brothers, c1950.

From MR. LUTHER H. EVANS—Wheat, Carl I. *The First One Hundred Years of Yankee California*, Address at the Opening of the Library of Congress California Centennial Exhibit, November 12, 1949. Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress [1949].

From MISS ORYTHA GATCH—*Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of California for the School Years 1868 and 1869*. [San Francisco, D. W. Gelwicks, State Printer, 1869]

From MRS. ADELINE HOWARD GILCHRIST—Shafter, Bertha S. *Memories*. Piedmont, 1936. (Mimeographed)

From MISS LUTIE GOLDSTEIN—Edson, Charles Farwell, *Los Angeles from the Sierras to the Sea*, Los Angeles, Warren T. Potter, c1916; Platt, Horace C., *John Mar-*

shall and Other Addresses, San Francisco, Argonaut Pub. Co., 1918; Swett, John, *Public Education in California*, New York, American Book Co., 1911; Murdock, Charles A., *A Backward Glance at Eighty*, San Francisco, Paul Elder, 1921.

From THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE—*The International Institute Almanac*, San Francisco, 1950.

From MR. J. STEWART JAMIESON—*A Pioneer in California*, Letters of Frank Jamieson Written From California On a Trip South Along the Coast in 1894. New York, Christmas, 1949.

From MISS FLORENCE KEENE—Castle, Mabel Wing, *Birthday Party*, Chicago, Privately Printed, 1945; Euwer, Anthony, *By Scarlet Torch and Blade*, Portland, Metropolitan Press, 1935; Greathead, Lolita, *Come Out and Play*, Akron, Saalfield Pub. Co., 1947; Moore, Rosalie, *The Grasshopper's Man and Other Poems*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949; University of Southern California, *University of Southern California Poems*, Los Angeles, The University, 1930.

From ALFRED A. KNOPE, PUBLISHERS—Cleland, Robert Glass, *This Reckless Breed of Men*, The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1950.

From FRANK McCaffrey PUBLISHERS—Marshall, Jim. *Swinging Doors*. Seattle, F. McCaffrey, 1949.

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN—His: *The Los Banos Henry Miller May Day Celebrations*. Los Banos, Speedprint Letter Shop, 1950.

From MR. ALBERT E. NORMAN—Bynon & Sherman, *Business Directory of Oakland, Alameda, and Berkeley*. Oakland, Arcade Printing House, 1877.

From PACIFIC BOOKS—Czarnowski, Lucile K. *Dances of Early California Days*. Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1950.

From MRS. IRENE D. PADEN—Her: *Prairie Schooner Detours*. New York, Macmillan Company, 1949.

From MR. LLOYD M. ROBBINS—*History of Solano County . . . Illustrated*, San Francisco, Wood, Alley & Co., 1879; *Historical Atlas Map of Solano County, California*, San Francisco, Thompson & West, 1878.

From MR. ANDREW F. ROLLE—San Francisco, February 17th, 1898, *To The Members of the Mechanics' Institute . . . P. J. Healy*, Broadside.

From ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.—Cody, Alexander J., S.J., *A Memoir, Richard A. Gleeson, S.J., 1861-1945*. San Francisco, University of San Francisco Press, 1950.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—Colton, Walter, *Three Years in California*, Introduction and notes by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1949; Dakin, Susanna Bryant, *The Lives of William Hartnell*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1949; Winther, Oscar Osburn, *The Old Oregon Country, a History of Frontier Trade, Transportation, and Travel*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950.

From MR. GENE M. TANSEY—His: *Three Shadows, or the Ground Hog Recapitulates*. San Francisco, 1950.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Halleck, H. W., *International Law*, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft, 1861; Layne, J. Gregg, *Books of the Los Angeles District*, Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1950; Victor, Frances Fuller, *The New Penelope and Other Stories and Poems*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1877; Wheat, Carl I., *The First One Hundred Years of Yankee California*, Washington, Library of Congress, 1949.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MRS. N. O. BEACOCK—*The Hayward Journal*, April 11, 1950.

From MRS. G. S. BEAUMONT—*San Francisco Chronicle*, April 22, 1934, and facsimile of issue for September 1, 1868.

From MRS. N. P. BEAUMONT—*Scribner's Magazine*, v. 101, no. 1, January 1937.

From MR. F. HAL HIGGINS—His: "Miller's Crawler Tractor of 1858" in *California Farmer*, v. 192, no. 8, April 22, 1950; "97 Years of Combining in California," *ibid.* v. 192, no. 6, March 25, 1950; "La Parata Delle Mieti-Trebbia" in *Macchine E Motori Agricoli*, v. 7, no. 12, December 1949.

From MRS. E. L. JACOBY—*The Hardy Family Bulletin*, no. 5, January 1949 and continuation.

From J. B. LIPPINCOTT CO.—*American Practitioner*, v. 4, no. 4, December 1949. (Memorial issue dedicated to Dr. William John Kerr).

From MRS. T. C. MACORMACK—*The Illustrated Waverly Magazine and Literary Repository*, v. 9, no. 1-26, July 1, 1854-December 23, 1854.

From MR. JOHN R. McKEE—*San Francisco Herald*, Dec. 1, 1850; *California Weekly Courier*, Dec. 1, 1850; *Boston Daily Journal*, Jan. 13, 1849; *Boston Journal for California*, Nov. 10, 1849; *Boston Evening Journal*, Jan. 4, 1842; *New Orleans Daily Delta*, Jan. 11, 1849; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, June 16, 1820; *The Japan Express*, June 14, 1862.

From TOMORROW MAGAZINE—"Hometown Revisited: San Francisco" from *Tomorrow Magazine*, March 1950.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MRS. CLARA COLBY—Manuscript biography of Robert Bloomer Buchanan.

From MR. WALTER H. LESTER—Manuscript letter of Rev. Henry Dimond from Honolulu, March 19, 1830, to D. B. Bradley in Siam.

From MISS ANNE MARTIN—Miscellaneous historical photographs; Seven letters from Sara Bard Field; Five letters from Mary Austin; Letter from Herbert Hoover.

From MILTON H. SHUTES, M.D.—Nine manuscript letters relating to the presidential campaign of 1860 and the Republican party.

From HON. M. C. SLOSS—Minute books of the Alaska Commercial Company, October 19, 1868, to October 9, 1918.

From MR. LUCIEN TRICOU—Three letters to Henry Tricou; Two letters from Hall McAllister; and one from Wm. N. Dameron of New Orleans.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. RALPH CEBRIAN—Two photographs of Charles F. Lummis; Residence of J. V. de Laveaga; De Laveaga mausoleum, Holy Cross Cemetery, San Francisco 1870's; California St. R. R. Co. engine house; a view of the snowstorm in San Francisco December 31, 1882; and two views of San Francisco in the 1870's and 1880's.

From MRS. ISABEL PORTER COLLINS—Six photographs of building which housed Hartnell College.

From CONTRA COSTA COUNTY TITLE COMPANY—Map of Lands from Walnut Creek and North. Martinez, Contra Costa County Title Co., 1949.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER—Two photographs "Our Lady of Loreto"; Mission de San Ignacio; Mission at Mulege; twelve views of La Paz.

From MR. CHARLES G. JOHNSON—His autographed photograph.

From MR. LAWTON R. KENNEDY—Water color sketch "Steam Gold Dredger Ascending the Sacramento in 1849" by W. Taber.

From MRS. ETHEL E. KING—Nine early photographs: Museum, Golden Gate Park, Call Building, Japanese Tea Garden, U. S. Mint, Cliff House, City Hall, Conservatory, Lotta's Fountain, and Hotel Del Monte.

From MRS. HANS LISSER—Collection of miscellaneous California photographs.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Four albums of photographs of San Francisco 1850-1906.

From MRS. L. H. PERRY—Photographic copies of the Vischer sketches.

From MRS. MARGARET E. SCHLICHTMANN—Photograph of a drawing of "U.S. Navy Yard and City of Vallejo, Solano County."

From MR. LUCIEN TRICOU—Three photographs: Adolphe Müller homestead, U.S.S. *Richard Rush*, and London and San Francisco Bank.

From MRS. FREDERICK VICKERY—Photographs: First Protestant Church in California, Stalk of lilies grown in San Francisco, Mendocino Hunting Party.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. HARRY W. ABRAHAMSON—San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Group at the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

From MR. HARRY J. BREEN—Green silk letter case owned by Margaret Breen, pioneer.

From CALIFORNIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES—Letterhead of the Utah Silver Mining Company.

From MR. JAMES N. CAMERON—Twenty-two checks, drawn on Donohue, Ralston & Co., Bankers, which were taken from the ruins after the fire of 1906.

From MR. RALPH CEBRIAN—The dressing case presented to Josefa de Laveaga, October 27, 1875.

From MRS. JENNIE L. DOUGHTY—Four certificates of Adams & Company.

From MRS. FRANK W. HEALY—Identification tag of Frank W. Healy; Pass to Oakland, April 28, 1906, approved by Healy; Proclamation by the Mayor, E. E. Schmitz, April 1, 1906.

From MR. H. M. HAIR—Sword carried in the Civil War by Col. E. D. Baker.

From MISS MARION LEALE—Collection of clippings, pamphlets and programs.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT—Register, Miss Marsh's School for Girls, 1895-96; Brochures on Yosemite, Monterey, Collection of Maps and pamphlets on San Francisco.

From MR. EDWIN McINNIS—Collection of historical theatre programs for Oakland and San Francisco theatres 1895-1920.

From MR. W. K. SPARKS AND MR. EDGAR JONES—Letters, photographs, invitations and souvenirs of President McKinley's Reception in Oakland May 24, 1901.

From MRS. FREDERICK VICKERY—Register of copyright and accompanying photograph of "First Protestant Church Edifice in Cal. Erected July 1849"; Program of Tenth Annual Sunday-School Picnic at Woodward's Gardens, June 23, 1884.

Meetings

Speaker: NEWTON B. DRURY

On July 9, 1940, Newton B. Drury was appointed (executive order 8474) director of the National Park Service "without regard to civil service rules." From which it will be apparent that when he addressed the Society at the luncheon meeting of March ninth, last, he had approximately ten years behind him of intensive, unsparing work. This could hardly be otherwise if he were to carry out his contract to direct 184 choice areas, distributed over the mainland and possessions of the United States. When one realizes that besides areas possessing the merit of scenery of the kind which prompts the exclamation, "*My word*—something has happened here!" and which carry

the appellation "National Parks," there are to be considered such criteria as the presence of archaeological remains; sites associated with crucial episodes in American life (representing the nation's history in most of its phases); the work of natural forces such as "the massive process," to quote Mr. Drury, of glacial recession in Glacier Bay, Alaska; Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine, Florida, which both artillery fire and Mother Nature herself have been thwarted in their attempts to breach, although the walls are composed of Nature's own tiny progeny, cemented with herself as mason; Jackson Hole in Wyoming, rendezvous of fur traders, etc., etc., leading up, among the "National Monuments," to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., one has some conception of how excessively full is the time of the N.P.S.'s director. As to the method of selecting historic sites, this must be austere, Mr. Drury said, for obviously the United States cannot preserve, for instance, every historic building; as it is, over 100 of the 184 areas within the service are historical in their importance. The members of the Society are familiar with Mr. Aubrey Drury's work, in addition to the demands of his business, as secretary of the Redwood League of California. They may find in the selected magazine articles listed below an exposition of what Mr. Newton Drury's department is accomplishing for the country as a whole.

Articles by Newton B. Drury: "Point Lobos Reserve," in *American Forests*, July 1938; "Your National Monuments," in *Nature Magazine*, Aug.-Sept. 1945; "The Comeback of the Bison," in *Rotarian*, Dec. 1946; and an article about him in the *American Magazine* for June 1948.

For a few minutes before Mr. Drury commenced his address, Miss Pearl Chase of Santa Barbara, president of the California Conservation Council, spoke entertainingly of conferences she had recently attended.

Speaker: ERWIN G. GUDDE

The centennial of the Pacific Coast Survey was Professor Gudde's subject at the May eleventh meeting. In the summer of 1850, he said, two parties were busy with the tremendous task of surveying the coast of newly acquired Oregon and California. The geodetic party under George Davidson started its work at Point Conception; earlier in the year the hydrographic party under William P. McArthur (grandfather of Lewis A. McArthur of Portland, who wrote an article on this subject in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XVI, Sept. 1915) had commenced a preliminary survey aboard the schooner *Ewing*, resulting in the publication of a reconnaissance chart—Monterey to the mouth of the Columbia—in three sheets, together with a report dated from San Francisco, September 25, 1850.

Professor Gudde gave a brief summary of the history of the U. S. Coast (now Coast and Geodetic) Survey since its inauguration during the incumbency of Thomas Jefferson. It had been the intention of the survey to commence the work on the Pacific coast in 1849. However, the gold fields were

too much for the enlisted seamen and the hired hands. Mass desertion made effective work impossible. The geodetic party under J. S. Williams and the hydrographic party under Lieutenant McArthur were unable to accomplish anything, despite the efforts of the officers. On one of the boats of the *Ewing* a mutiny occurred—a rare event in the history of the U. S. Navy. Five enlisted men threw an officer overboard, with the intention of drowning him, and made off to the mines. A party under Lt. Washington A. Bartlett captured the mutineers the next day near present Pittsburg Landing. The two ringleaders, both bearing the name of Black, were hanged on October 23, 1849, the others being severely punished. Thus it was not until 1850 that the survey actually started, after McArthur had succeeded in getting a reliable crew, and Davidson and his assistants had volunteered to do all the labor connected with their work, including cooking and washing.

At the close of Professor Gudde's address, Lt. Raymond M. Stone, in charge of the San Francisco office of the survey, gave a short description of the activities now carried on.

Speaker: "THE BANDIT CHIEF" *et al.*

The diversion at the Sacramento meeting on April fifteenth was as novel to us of 1950 as it had been at its first presentation to the miners of the gold rush and their ladies a hundred years ago (Oct. 18, 1849). In the nature of things, the tricks of a bandit are always novel, always unexpected. Under the expert handling of the Sacramento Civic Repertory Theater, with its clever theater-sense and its modern staging equipment, the illusion of burlesque forest, ditto hero and heroine, etc., was passed on to the audience in just the right mood—all this, too, on the mere fragmentary reports that exist of the original play, entitled "The Bandit Chief; or, The Spectre in the Forest." The floods that beset the members of California's first legislature, in session that winter in San Jose, as well as the playgoers of Sacramento, may have reduced the original script to the rarity of papyri. Be that as it may, the Eaglet Theater (modern incarnation of the old "New Eagle Theater" of 1849—a thing of canvas walls and sheet-iron roof), carried the double bill of luncheon-meeting and mummary off in great style. When the heroine, Lucile, cried, "No, I'd rather take a basilisk and wrap his cold fangs around me than be clasped in the hembrace of a 'eartless robber," would you have known, precisely, what she meant? See illustration of basilisk in your dictionary, which avers, besides, that the basilisk's *look* was fatal, quite apart from a fang.

ROOMS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Pioneer Hall, 456 McAllister St., San Francisco 2

Below: Library and Reading Room (street floor); *above:* Gallery (second floor)

In Memoriam

JOSEPH NISBET LE CONTE

Joseph Nisbet Le Conte was born in Oakland, California, February 7, 1870. His father was the eminent and beloved Joseph Le Conte, geologist and scientist, known to his friends and admirers as "Professor Joe." "Little Joe," as the son was called, grew up in Berkeley along with the newly established University of California in which his father and uncle, John Le Conte, played such important roles. Graduating in Berkeley in 1891, he received the degree M.M.E. from Cornell the following year. That same year he became an assistant in mechanics in the University of California, later an instructor, then an assistant professor and finally a full professor of mechanical engineering. He retired from active teaching in 1937 and moved to Carmel, where he lived until his death February 2, 1950. On Charter Day 1945, the University of California conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. June 10, 1901, he married Helen Gompertz of Berkeley, who died in 1924. Their children Joseph and Helen survive. In 1929 he married Adelaide Graham who also survives.

Professor Le Conte was an authority on mechanical engineering and hydraulics, publishing treatises on both subjects. As a teacher his work was notable, and he was beloved by his many students. In the words of the citation which accompanied the LL.D. award, he was "a friend of students, continuing and enriching the tradition of a great name."

Outside of his university work, he was devoted to the High Sierra which he visited and explored on innumerable occasions, spending most of his vacations there. He was one of the enthusiastic charter members of the Sierra Club, and actively participated in its growth. During his entire lifetime he gave enthusiastic support to its conservation efforts. He was a pioneer in mapping and photographing the Sierra Nevada and wrote many descriptive articles of his explorations and first ascents.

"Little Joe" was a lovable character. He was the soul of integrity and radiated a geniality that endeared him to all who knew him. Had he lived only a few days longer, he would have attained the ripe age of 80.

WILLIAM EDWARD COLBY

New Members

(March-May, 1950)

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Alan Atkins	San Francisco	Ralph H. Cross
D. J. F. Aubertine, D.D.S.	San Francisco	Loren B. Taber, D.D.S.
Robert Barker	Placerville	Membership Committee
Bliss & Hurt, Trudell & Berger	San Francisco	Membership Committee
George L. Browning, M.D.	Sacramento	Membership Committee
Mrs. D. A. Cannon	Sacramento	Miss Caroline Wenzel
William Cavalier, Jr.	Piedmont	Mrs. William Cavalier
Lew A. Chase	Hayward	Membership Committee
James J. Durney	Piedmont	Mrs. William Cavalier
W. A. Finlay	Berkeley	Mrs. Clarence Shuey
H. O. L. Fischer	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Bert E. Geisreiter	Sacramento	Aubrey Drury
Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Co.	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Donald Gregory	San Francisco	Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Howard M. Gunton	Oakland	Floyd M. Lane
Mrs. Warren C. Herman	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. Bruce Johnstone	Inverness	Mrs. G. C. Simmons
Mrs. Biscoe Kibbey	Sacramento	Mrs. F. P. Vickery and Miss Caroline Wenzel
John Bryant Knox	Piedmont	Mrs. Guy Gilchrist
Preston A. Lane	Oakland	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Lillian Hall Larson	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. Mildred Clemens Lewis	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Hans Lissner	San Francisco	Alfred Ghirardelli
Mrs. Norman B. Livermore	Ross	Norman B. Livermore
Mrs. Luppe B. Luppen	Sacramento	Mrs. F. P. Vickery and Miss Caroline Wenzel
Mrs. Angus McDonald	Belvedere	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Drummond MacGavin	San Francisco	Mrs. James Jenkins
David B. Magee	San Francisco	Resuming former membership
Mrs. Randolph Huntington Miner	San Francisco	William Wallace Mein
Miss Edith R. Mirrieles	Stanford	Miss Mary Yost
Pierce E. Mitchell	Reedley	Membership Committee
Henry C. Petray, D.D.S.	Oakland	Raoul H. Blaquie, D.D.S.
William K. Purves	Sacramento	Miss Caroline Wenzel
Mrs. Milton Russell Richardson	Sacramento	Miss Eleanor McClatchy
Mrs. Esther A. Saklem	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Adolph D. Sweet	Visalia	Harold G. Schutt
Miss Harriet W. Tuft	Berkeley	Aubrey Drury
University of California Library, Serials Dept.	Berkeley	Membership Committee
University of New Mexico Library	Albuquerque	Membership Committee
Mrs. John Upton	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. Frederick P. Vickery	Sacramento	Resuming former membership
Mrs. Arnold Randolph Waybur	Sacramento	Miss Caroline Wenzel

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Mrs. Madie D. Brown (Mrs. Edmund N. Brown), a native of Alabama, came to California in 1920. At present she is curator of the Vallejo Home in Sonoma (a state historical monument), her work as the first woman member of the California State Park Commission in 1931-36 having fitted her not only for the Sonoma assignment but for conservation on a wider scale when she assisted in 1939 in the campaign to preserve the Kings River Canyon area as a national park.

Rev. John B. McGloin, S.J., Ph.D., who took his graduate training at the University of California, at St. Louis University, and at Columbia, is now assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco. During the past semester, Father McGloin inaugurated a course in the history of San Francisco, for students in both the day and night divisions. In December 1949 appeared his book, *Eloquent Indian: the Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit*, published by the Stanford University Press.

For his M.A. thesis (Univ. of Calif.) in 1937, Earl S. Pomeroy took as his subject "The Statehood Process, 1861-1876, a Study of the Administration of New States during the Period of the Civil War." Since the granting of his Ph.D. degree (U.C., 1940), he has written on present-day topics, such as the "Sentiment for a Strong Peace" (*So. Atlantic Quarterly*, Oct. 1944), "Overseas Bases" (*Proc. U. S. Naval Inst.*, June 1947), "American Policy Respecting the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas, 1898-1941" (*Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Feb. 1948), etc. In 1947 the University of Pennsylvania Press published his *The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890; Studies in Colonial Administration*, which was prepared under the direction of the American Historical Association. Dr. Pomeroy is associate professor at the University of Oregon, where he is teaching courses in the history of the west.

For biographical information on Fred B. Rogers, see page 93 in the March 1947 issue of the *QUARTERLY*. An addendum to that note should state that his rank on retirement as colonel has been changed from "temporary" to permanent.

A biographical sketch of Henry R. Wagner is given on pp. 378-79 of the December 1946 *QUARTERLY*. See also the keepsake distributed to the members in May, as mentioned in the Society's June 1950 *NOTES*, page 3.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Dr. D. J. F. Aubertine's family history (his father, George F. Aubertine, was born in Vera Cruz, Mexico), as well as his personal experience is well

knit into the life of Central America. Through his interest in education south of the border, he travels at least once each year to the universities of Mexico and Guatemala, in both of which he holds visiting professorships in dentistry. His efforts have also been directed toward organizing lecture and clinical groups in all the Central American countries, in the Dominican Republic and in Cuba. In 1939, his services were required by Secretary of State Cordell Hull in the interest of closer cultural relations with the Latin-American countries. Before her marriage, Dr. Aubertine's mother was Miriam Brand, whose family was active in the French colony in San Francisco during the early 1850's.

As former president both of the Michigan State Historical Society and of the Michigan Historical Commission, Lew A. Chase has had much experience in the nature of such organizations—their basis for existence, their obligations, their hopes and plans. He is now professor emeritus of the Northern Michigan College of Education, and, with the freedom from teaching that goes with "emeritus," he has come west and has exchanged the Great Lakes for the Pacific as neighborhood seascapes.

Mrs. Donald H. Fry (listed among the new members in the March *QUARTERLY*) is the youngest daughter of Albert Little Bancroft, an account of whose business and family life appears on pages 97 ff of the present issue. In 1899, at her father's farm in Ignacio Valley, Contra Costa County, Sara Bancroft was married to Donald H. Fry, an electrical engineer, then with the Mt. Whitney Power Co. of Visalia, California. About 1910, she and her husband went to southern California and erected a house in South Pasadena in which they still reside. In a guest house in the garden hangs a portrait of Mrs. Fry's father which was painted when he was in his twenty-fourth year. The Frys have one son, named for his father; he is an ichthyologist connected with the California Fish and Game Commission and at present lives in Palo Alto. Mr. Fry, Sr., enjoys painting landscapes and animals during his spare time.

Mrs. Bruce (Elsie Leale) Johnstone's maternal grandfather, William Banks, took the isthmian route to California in the late 1850's with his wife and their three children. Their fourth child (Mrs. Johnstone's mother) was Lily, a native daughter: she thus had the advantage of having seen California for the first time with younger, more wondering and more welcoming eyes than the others. The Banks' home, until it was destroyed in the earthquake and fire of 1906, was at the corner of Washington and Leavenworth streets in San Francisco. Lily married William G. Leale, who reached San Francisco from Canton, China, in the late 1860's. His uncle, Capt. A. Nelson, was one of the owners of the California Transportation Co., which was engaged in river traffic on the Sacramento. The business appealed to young Leale. By

1883, he captained a small fleet of his own, one of the best known of his ships being the stern-wheeler, *Caroline*. Mrs. Johnstone, a native of San Francisco, attended the old (as *she* says) Pacific Heights School, the Girls High School, and the state university. She now lives in Inverness.

In the winter of 1947 appeared a new magazine, *The Pacific Spectator*, proposing, as its editorial page said, to "serve as a spokesman for humanistic interests in the West. . . ." The word "humanistic," as we understand it, refers to the discernment, the wisdom, to be found in the writings of the past and of the present, and we felt happy at the prospect of its dissemination among us; for even a quick glance at gold-rush diaries and letters shows that, beneath the usual cocksureness of the frontier, there was a homesickness for wisdom that had been tested. This was true then, and is universally true, because knowledge of that kind, handed down from one generation to another, always graces, though perhaps in a very small and voiceless fashion, the hearths that pioneers leave behind when they start out to build new ones. Since its first appearance, *The Pacific Spectator* has had Miss Edith R. Mirrieles as its managing editor. Miss Mirrieles is a native of Pittsfield, Illinois, and came to Stanford University, by way of Montana, in 1909. She rose to a full professorship in English at Stanford in 1939. Practically every summer between 1924 and 1942 she went to Vermont as a teacher at the Bread Loaf School of English and Writers' Conferences, whence she brought back, as well as took thither, expert comprehension of what is, and what is not, publishable material. Miss Mirrieles has also written on the subject as it relates to the short story. In 1929, and again in 1937, she edited selections from this type of American literature.

The first sixteen years of Mrs. Arnold (Marjorie Stanton) Waybur's life were spent in New York and Chicago, where her family on both sides—as teachers, Episcopal clergymen, editors, musicians—were taking part in the nation's affairs. Then came her residence in California, graduation from Miss Anna Head's School in Berkeley, and special courses at the University of California. Though primarily trained for a future devoted to music, Mrs. Waybur found that being the mother of three talented children was quite as attractive a career. The chairmanship of Sacramento's city-planning commission, which she now holds, is giving her a chance to show how varied training and experience can fit one for unlooked-for responsibilities; indeed few fields make such demands on coordinated, broad thinking as does civic planning on a large scale. By marriage, Mrs. Waybur is related to Julius R. Waybur, beloved as a piano teacher and as founder of the Berkeley Musical Association in 1908; and to the artist and architect Bruce Porter of San Francisco.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Early Engineering Center in California

By J. W. JOHNSON

NO other region in the United States of equal size is so rich in the history of engineering, particularly hydraulic engineering, as Nevada County, California, and parts of the adjacent counties of Placer, Sierra, Butte, Plumas, and Yuba. Many engineering projects in this area were the first of their kind in the west, and a few of them were the first of their kind in the world. To name some of the more important, it was here that the first large-scale development of reservoirs and canals was made in the United States for mining, irrigation, and power purposes; the first use in the country of iron pipe under heads of several hundred feet; it was the birthplace of the Pelton wheel, and here occurred the invention of the needle nozzle; in this area was one of the first plants in the west for the generation of electric power under high heads; the first long-distance, high voltage, power-transmission line in the world; and the first successful long-distance telephone line in the world. A glance at the map (Fig. 1) shows how many of these historic engineering works are still in operation.

DITCH BUILDING

The extensive development of projects in California requiring the application of scientific principles might be considered to have started shortly after the discovery of gold at Coloma in 1848, when the streams were utilized to aid in the extraction of gold by ground sluicing, "hydraulicking," and for quartz mining. Owing to the definite wet and dry seasons in California, it became necessary to construct a large number of reservoirs and extensive canal systems to insure a continuous supply of water to the mines in summer. The first noteworthy attempt at ditch building was made in March 1850 at Coyote Hill, Nevada County, to carry water from Mosquito Creek to nearby mining operations.¹ Other ditches were built soon afterwards throughout the mining district, and by 1869 approximately 325 separate canals were in operation in California, 120 of which were located in Nevada County and its neighboring counties.² In 1865 the various canals in Nevada County were combined into two grand systems, the Eureka Lake and Yuba Canal Co.³ and the South Yuba Canal Co.⁴ In the 1870's, when mining operations were at their peak, the famous San Juan Ridge⁵ of Nevada County was the center of operation for three mammoth hydraulic gold-mining companies: the Milton Mining and Water Co. of French Corral; the Eureka Lake and Yuba Canal Co. of North San Juan; and the North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. of North Bloomfield. A reproduction of the map compiled and drawn by T. P. Wilson, civil engineer, and showing the canal systems of these three companies as of 1876, is on file in the collection of the California Historical Society.⁶

The conduits in the various systems consisted primarily of earth canals, with a large amount of timber fluming where the canals were built along the sides of precipitous mountain canyons (Fig. 2). In some instances the entire river was diverted from its channel to expose the gold-bearing gravel in the stream bed.⁷ Aqueducts and inverted siphons reached spectacular proportions, for that time, on some of the systems. Remarkable in this respect were

Fluming

Eureka to South Fork -	961	Feet	foot boxes - say	11536 ft.
South Fork to Big Bluffs -	264	"	"	= " 3168 "
Big Bluffs to Milton -	1113	"	"	= " 13352 "
<u>Total</u>	<u>2338</u>	Feet	foot boxes - say	<u>28056 ft.</u>

The above 2338 Boxes include 56 Boxes of flume built in the ditch - most of which is supported by heavy grubbing -

Figure 2. Excerpt from statement of construction of Milton ditch from Eureka to Milton dam; built by North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. in years 1872-73-74. (From original in the James D. Hague collection, Huntington Library.)

the National and Magenta aqueducts, constructed in 1859 on the Eureka Lake and Yuba Canal Co. conduit and located a short distance below the town of Graniteville (formerly Eureka South). The National aqueduct was 1800 ft. long and 65 ft. high; whereas the Magenta was 1400 ft. long and 126 ft. high⁸ (Fig. 3). The capacity of these two aqueducts was approximately 3000 miner's inches (78 cfs.).

THE MAGENTA AQUEDUCT⁹

Completion of this flume was celebrated by a festival which was attended by the governor of the state and other notables. In its edition of August 13, 1859, the North San Juan *Hydraulic Press* had this to say of the occasion:

On Friday the 5th inst. we had the pleasure of witnessing a unique and interesting festival, gotten up by the employees of the Eureka Lake Ditch Company to celebrate the completion of the largest section of flume in Nevada County.

The aqueduct crosses a gorge known as Cherry Hill Gap, between Snow Tent and Eureka South, and about twenty miles up the Ridge from North San Juan, and is the last section of a lofty flume, the aggregate length of which is about one mile. This section, christened the Magenta Aqueduct by some enthusiastic Frenchman engaged in its construction, is twelve hundred feet long from hill to hill, with a height [*sic*] in the center of one hundred and twenty-five feet, the width of box through which the water is to flow being six feet. The timbers employed in its construction were all hewed from pines growing directly on or near the spot, and the uprights are all single pieces. It is not probable that unspliced timbers 125 feet long, 16 inches square at one end and tapering to 9 inches at the other, could be procured anywhere else than on the coast of the North Pacific—yet

the mountain ridges of California are crowded with trees that would yield even larger timbers. The trestles of the flume have a spread at the ground of 30 feet and 8 feet at the top. The entire structure, as one views it from a short distance, looks massive yet graceful, and as though it could not be overturned by anything less powerful than a hurricane. It is not built in a straight line across the Gap, but sinuously, following the windings of the ground, which is said to increase its strength. The water box is not sided up with boards, but with solid stringers sixteen inches high by nine in width, the grade of the flume being sufficient to carry through 2,000 inches of water.—The absence of high sides greatly reduces the danger to be apprehended from winds, and with the same object in view the whole work has fewer timbers about it than any flume in the State. It was designed, and its construction superintended by Mons Faucherie, and cost about \$10,000.

The grounds were prepared for the festival with much taste and regard to convenience. A pavilion thirty feet wide, sixteen feet high and several hundred feet long, composed of evergreen bushes and having an arched roof, was built immediately under the flume between the trestles, and divided into dining, dressing and dancing apartments, which were decorated with wreaths, flags, and appropriate mottoes. . . . The Gap is a very pleasant little valley, commanding a noble view of mountain peaks and piney gorges, and cooled by breezes blowing from the very summit of the Sierra Nevada. Those who went across the flume had a grand display of scenery to gaze upon. In one direction could be seen the rugged peaks of the Sierra Buttes, sharply outlined on the sky, and long blue lines of distant mountains melting into air. In another the town of Minnesota could be seen clinging to the side of a steep ridge like a bird's nest; and on turning around, there were the wavy outlines of the ridge dividing Deer Creek and the South Yuba. Immediately beneath the spectator was an amphitheater [*sic*] of pine-clad hills, circling an animated scene of human festivity. . . .

Besides the governor (J. B. Weller), Hon. C. L. Scott was among the guests. Orator-of-the-day was R. B. Moyes. The national colors of France and the United States were hoisted on two flag staffs, each about 50 ft. long, which were "slowly raised from the highest part of the flume, where they had been lying, by the same machinery that was employed in raising the timbers of the flume itself; and as they went up the band played 'The Star Spangled Banner,' and the 'Marseilles Hymn,' and other stirring strains. . . ." Orator Moyes explained that the Magenta aqueduct

was built to convey the waters of the main Lake ditch, as they came flowing down from Eureka, across Cherry Gap on to the Backbone. The Eureka Lake Ditch is fed from the summit lakes above Eureka and by Cañon Creek. It is about thirty miles long, and cost some \$600,000, but the company owning it are also the proprietors of other ditches acquired by purchase and consolidation,—such as the Miner's, Irwin's, Grizzly, Tisdale's, Poor Man's, Union and Empire Ditches, altogether having a length of about two hundred miles. The ditches are all well supplied with reservoirs for saving and appliances for dispensing water; and the fact that they are all needed, besides other ditches belonging to other parties, proves the immense extent of the mineral region lying between the Middle and South Yuba. . . . During the fore part of the night about one hundred rockets were set off from the flume . . . and a variety of pyrotechnic displays closed up the outdoor exercises. . . .

In another column of the same edition of the *Hydraulic Press* appeared the following:

The managers of the Magenta Flume festival made ample provisions for feeding the

horses of the guests free of charge, and will be mortified to learn that some thieving scoundrel fed their barley to animals and charged visitors two dollars a horse, which was unsuspectingly paid. The dishonest trick should not go unnoticed.

Other "scoundrels" manifested themselves during operation of the Magenta aqueduct. In its edition of November 18, 1865, the *Mining and Scientific Press* reported one such instance, stating that: "... an attempt was made last Saturday night to destroy the celebrated Magenta flume. . . . Two or three blasts were put into the heavy timbers that sustain it, and set off. The timbers were shattered and some damage done to the upper work."

In contrast to the fanfare during the dedication of the Magenta flume, the end of its useful life drew only a few lines in the *Mining and Scientific Press*, October 28, 1871:

This flume, on the line of the Eureka Lake and Yuba Canal Co., is being taken down. It cost about \$80,000, and was considered a wonderful but useless engineering work. The Co. will build a new flume 90 ft. lower, at the gap. They are also digging a new ditch from below the flume to a point opposite Moore's Flat. It is estimated that the new work will cost \$20,000.

THE CHEROKEE SIPHON

Another important early-day structure was the Cherokee siphon in Butte County. Its construction was hailed in the engineering press as one of the wonders of the age,¹⁰ since it was the first use in the United States of iron pipe under relatively high heads.¹¹ This inverted siphon was 30 in. in diameter, 13,000 ft. long, and carried approximately 53 cfs. of water with a maximum head of 887 ft. It was laid in 1870 and was part of the canal system which brought water to the mines at Cherokee, now a ghost town.¹² Part of this pipe line may be seen today. During its construction, the *Mining and Scientific Press* of December 3, 1870, carried the following note:

The Spring Valley Canal and Mining Company are constructing works to bring water to Cherokee which if successful will stir up the engineering world! They have now about 20 miles of ditch which will be extended to Kimeshaw Lakes, in 1871, about 18 miles across the west branch of Feather River, at a depression from grade line of 840 feet, on a Howe truss bridge, the iron pipe lying 70 feet from the bottom of the river. The pipe is 30 inches in diameter, and nearly 2½ miles long, laid in a trench about 5 feet deep. The head is 180 feet above the level of discharge. N. B. Harris is Superintendent, and H. B. Lathrop is secretary and agent.

The progress of construction of the Cherokee siphon was reported in detail in the contemporary copies of the *Oroville Record* and the *Mining and Scientific Press*. That a canal to bring water to Cherokee was contemplated was mentioned in the November 10, 1866, issue of the *Mining and Scientific Press*. In the April 23, 1870, edition, it reported that the surveys for the canal were in progress, and two weeks later (June 4, 1870) the *Press's* readers were informed that work had commenced. Issues of July 16, July 23, October 1, and November 5, 1870, carried comments on the progress of the pipe line itself. The November 19 issue stated that "the laying of the two and a half miles of iron pipe for the Spring Valley Company has been completed, and

water has been let into the ditch above." Shortly afterwards came the turning of the water into the Cherokee siphon for the first time. As described by the *Butte Record* of December 24, 1870, anxious moments preceded the rejoicings:

On Monday last, water was turned into the large iron pipe to plunge down a depth of 800 feet, and force its way up the same distance to its point of discharge. It was calculated that it would take four hours to fill the pipe so that it would commence to discharge, and it might cause a much less time to cause a break. How anxiously passed the time, as the lower air-valves, by the approaching water, marked its rise by distances of 100 or 200 feet. Three hours have passed since the water was turned in. Confidence and anxiety are depicted upon the faces of those in charge of the work.—Forty minutes pass—from its mouth pours a stream, half filling the cavity of the pipe, takes it way into the ditch, around the graceful curve, and rushes down the side hill into the reservoirs commanding the mines of Cherokee. Men shout with great gladness, and, jumping into the receiver, drink from the mouth of the pipe.—Anvils are fired, and impromptu rejoicings are kept up during Monday and Tuesday, when we visited Cherokee to see with our own eye and hear with our own ears. A friend that accompanied us, declared that every other man in Cherokee had his nose skinned. They can well afford to rejoice. For over twenty years the richest mining section in the Golden State has been dependent upon the winter rains for water for mining purposes. Now they have a living stream that shall cause the placers of that section to yield up their hidden treasures at the touch of its magic wand.

By the beginning of the next year (Jan. 7, 1871), the *Mining and Scientific Press* was able to present a complete description and a drawing of the Cherokee siphon in an article entitled, "A Great Hydraulic Mining Enterprise."

EXAMPLES OF DRY-MASONRY DAMS

Early mining ditches diverted either directly from streams or from natural lakes high up in the Sierra Nevada. As the demand for water increased, dams were constructed on these lakes to increase their storage capacity. Many of the first dams were simple, framed structures as, for example, Faucherie dam¹³ which is shown in Figure 4, but later most of the dams were constructed of masonry. The French, English, and Bowman dams (Figs. 5-7) are examples of early dry-masonry types, some of which, with subsequent raises in their height, are still in use.

1. *French dam* was constructed by the Summit Water and Irrigation Co., the water rights of this company (among the oldest rights in the Yuba River basin) representing the combined rights of several companies. The principal reservoir of this system is Eureka or French Lake, situated at the head of Canyon Creek. As stated in *Irrigation Investigations in California*, published in 1901 (see note 13 above), a dam (width at bottom, 120 ft.; height, 70 ft.; length at top, 250 ft.), formed of granite blocks, was erected here in 1858-59. In private correspondence during March 1947 with William Durbrow, then manager of the Nevada Irrigation District, Mr. Durbrow stated that it was constructed originally in 1856. "There is some evidence down stream from this dam that a similar dam may have been constructed at an earlier date and

washed out. However, there seems to be no doubt that the present French Lake Dam was constructed in 1856. . . ." Continuing, Mr. Durbrow said:

It was a peculiarly constructed rockfill dam and would not be approved by engineers today. The down stream face of the dam was practically vertical, giving a very narrow section and the State Division of Dams has for some time past not permitted the District to carry the water against the dam to the full height of which it was carried by the original builders. . . .

The original dam provided for a wooden A frame on top of the rockfill for giving an elevation of the water surface considerably higher than the rockfill. The water line is still visible, showing the height to which the water was carried by the early miners. The District started in 1944 to extend the outlet structure of this dam and to backfill with rock to the height of the original dam, including the wooden structure on top. . . .

2. *The Rudyard or English reservoir* was formed by three dams which connected two granite knobs at the lower end of a glacial lake. The dams, of the ordinary timber and rock-crib type, lie just east of French Lake and were built in 1856-58 by an English company.¹⁴ In 1867, the North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. purchased this property, but sold it to the Milton Mining and Water Co. in 1872. The height of the structures was increased in 1878 by placing a masonry section on the downstream side, similar to that on Bowman dam. An early photograph of the middle English dam, before addition of the rock facing, was reproduced in the *Overland Monthly* of January 1889; the view (Fig. 6), which accompanies this paper, was taken after placement of the rock facing.

3. *Bowman dam* was heralded in the *Grass Valley Union* of May 15, 1867, as "An Extensive Ditch Enterprise." The report went on to say:

We have it from good authority that [L. L.] Robinson, [S. F.] Butterworth, and other capitalists of San Francisco, who last year purchased extensive gravel diggings at Humbug, in Bloomfield Township, at a good round sum, design the present season to construct a ditch from either the South or Middle Yuba, to carry water on to their mining ground for more convenient working. The ditch will not be less than twenty miles in length, and from the rugged nature of the country over which it will pass, must cause a large outlay of money—but the known riches of the mining ground it is intended to supply fully justifies its construction. We understand that Robinson & Co. have secured a water right in both of the Yubas, from the ditch companies who have original right to the waters of the same.

Some two years later (Jan. 23, 1869), the *Mining and Scientific Press* announced incorporation of the "North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co." at a capital stock of \$800,000, the "other capitalists of San Francisco"—i.e., in addition to Robinson and Butterworth, mentioned by the *Grass Valley Union*—being Thomas Bell, R. Bayerque and W. C. Ralston, acting as trustees. On September fourth of the same year, the *Press* said that this company had purchased the Bowman ranch for the site of a new reservoir. Work on the main Bowman dam and on the waste dam, both of timber and rock crib construction, was carried forward: completion of the main structure as far as the 44 ft. level was prophesied "in 4 days" by the *Mining and Scientific Press* of November 13, 1869. According to A. J. Bowie (see note 12 above,

p. 106), the dams were completed in 1872 to a height of 72 ft., but were raised to 92 ft. in 1876 by placement of a masonry section on the downstream face.

Both of the Bowman dams were used by the mining interests and later by the Nevada Irrigation District. In 1927, the main dam was removed and then rebuilt completely as a rockfill structure with a considerable increase in height. A new waste dam was built behind the old one. At the same time, a conduit was made from Bowman Lake to Lake Spaulding near Emigrant Gap. Now, the water from French, Faucherie, and Bowman reservoirs flows to Lake Spaulding where the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. passes it through their turbines. An equivalent amount of water is then returned to the Nevada Irrigation District via the South Yuba canal and the Deer Creek power house. The canal is another descendant of the early days, having been constructed in 1853 to carry water to the mines near Grass Valley.

SIERRAN SUPPLY-AND THE TELEPHONE

What was needed to make the early mining operations on San Juan Ridge in Nevada County successful was a means of rapid communication between the reservoirs in the Sierra and the sites of the mines. In 1878 a daring step to achieve this end was the construction of a line, reputed to be the first successful long-distance telephone system in the world. Responsible parties were the three large mining companies on San Juan Ridge, viz., the Milton Mining and Water Co., the Eureka Lake & Yuba Canal Co., and the North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co., who, under the corporate name of Ridge Telephone Co., let a contract for the construction of line from French Corral in Nevada County to the reservoirs near Milton in Sierra County. The line was 60 miles long, with twenty-two stations, and cost \$6,000 to construct.¹⁵ It was considered that this sum would be saved each year in increased economy of ditch maintenance and use of water. For more than twenty years the line was in successful operation. In the historical museum at Sutter's Fort one may see some of the company's old records, including invoices and messages, as well as parts of equipment. The hydraulic laboratory at the University of California also has in its collection insulators and wire from this early line.

The old headquarters of the Milton Mining and Water Co. at French Corral carries an historical marker stating that the first long-distance telephone line in the world had its western terminus in that building. Although the Ridge Telephone Co.'s communication system is generally considered to have been the first in that respect, it is of interest to note that the South Yuba Canal Co. completed a much longer line the same year. Evidence of this is the following paragraph from the Nevada City *Daily Transcript* of July 24, 1878:

The South Yuba Canal Company will within a few days have its system of telegraphic and telephonic communication completed, the line reaching to every important station

on the ditches, in all a distance of a trifle over 184 miles. The Western Union and the Canal Company's line from Nevada to Fordyce Dam is 70 miles long; from Nevada to Bear Valley, 52 miles of ditch is traversed. 42 miles of wires also connect Chalk Bluff with the headquarters here, and the Big Tunnel 22½ miles from the office in another direction, is included in the list. The whole system is perfectly arranged in detail, and works more successfully than even the most sanguine had anticipated. The improvement is greatly due to the efforts of Superintendent Earl Brown, than whom no man we know is better calculated to carry out such extensive undertakings as the above. His entire management of the Company's interests is of a character that entitles him to the greatest praise both from the owners and the patrons.

"GIANTS" AND "HURDY-GURDY WHEELS"

The mining of extensive auriferous deposits usually was accomplished by directing high-velocity streams of water against a high bank and washing the gravel through devices to reclaim the gold—a method generally conceded to have been first employed by Edward E. Matteson in 1853 at the American Hill mining claim, about one mile west of Nevada City.¹⁶ The streams were generated by the use of hydraulic monitors, or "giants," which operated with water from the ditches. The first of these nozzles was an ordinary tin tube which was held by hand.¹⁷ Later the monitors became larger and of very ingenious construction. Some were mounted on a base in a fixed position, but were equipped with swivel joints and jet deflectors so that one man could change the direction of the stream. This adjunct to hydraulic mining is said to have been also a local product, Egleston's *Metallurgy* declaring that the jet deflector was invented in 1876 by Henry C. Perkins, manager of the North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co.¹⁸

The use of water wheels, called "hurdy-gurdy wheels," followed the development of the monitor and provided the power necessary to permit deep mining on the original veins of the Sierra Nevada. The first noteworthy experiments on hurdy-gurdy wheels were conducted in 1875 by the famous hydraulic engineer, Hamilton Smith, Jr. Other important experiments were made in 1883 at the University of California, one experimenter in particular, Ross E. Browne, bearing a name with a familiar ring to students of California history.¹⁹ So important were the contributions of Smith to the development of the science of hydraulic engineering that a brief summary of his activities in California is of interest at this point.

THE WORK OF HAMILTON SMITH, JR.

Smith is best known for his book *Hydraulics*,²⁰ the background for this treatise being obtained while he was connected with the North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. While at North Bloomfield, Smith became the recognized authority on all matters relating to hydraulic mining in California. Between August 1871, when he was appointed superintendent of the North Bloomfield company,²¹ and 1881, when he left the United States for mining work in South America,²² he not only designed and constructed large dams, pipe lines, and tunnels, but he also conducted important experiments on ori-



Figure 3. *Above:* the Magenta flume as it appeared at the height of mining activities. (From photograph by Watkins in collection of Stanford University Library.) *Below:* site of this once famous aqueduct as it appears today; old stage stop alone remains.

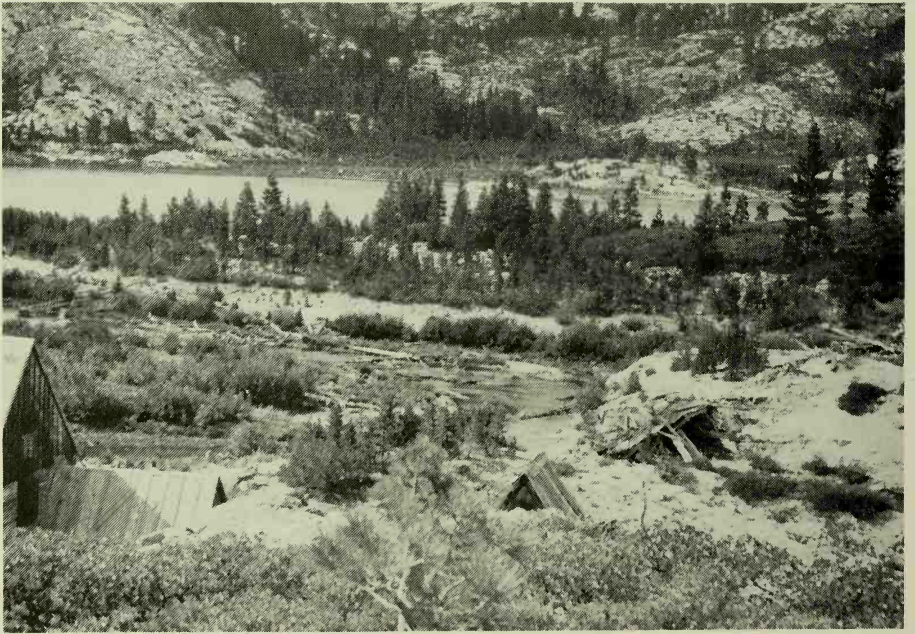
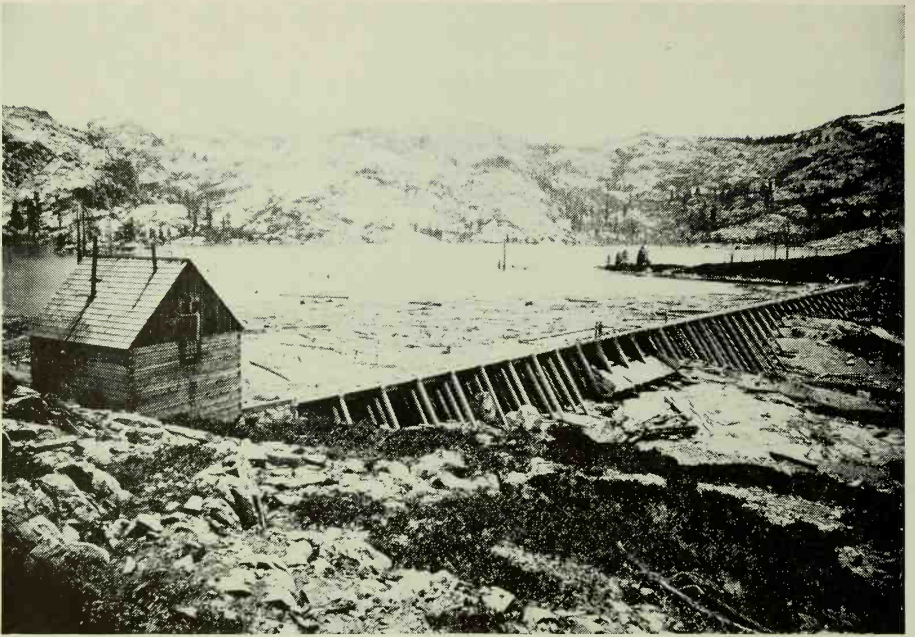


Figure 4. *Above:* Faucherie dam in the early mining days. (From photograph by Watkins in collection of Bancroft Library.) *Below:* site of dam as it appears today, with only caretaker's house still standing.



Figure 5 (*above*). Early view of French dam.

Figure 6 (*below*). Early view of middle English dam which was destroyed in 1883.
(Both views are reproduced from photographs by Watkins in collection of Bancroft Library.)

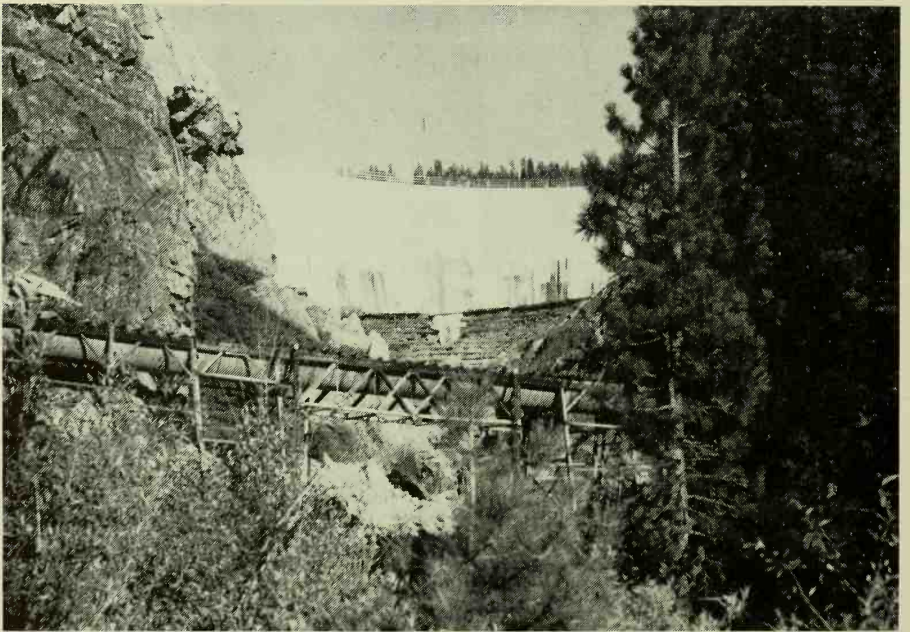
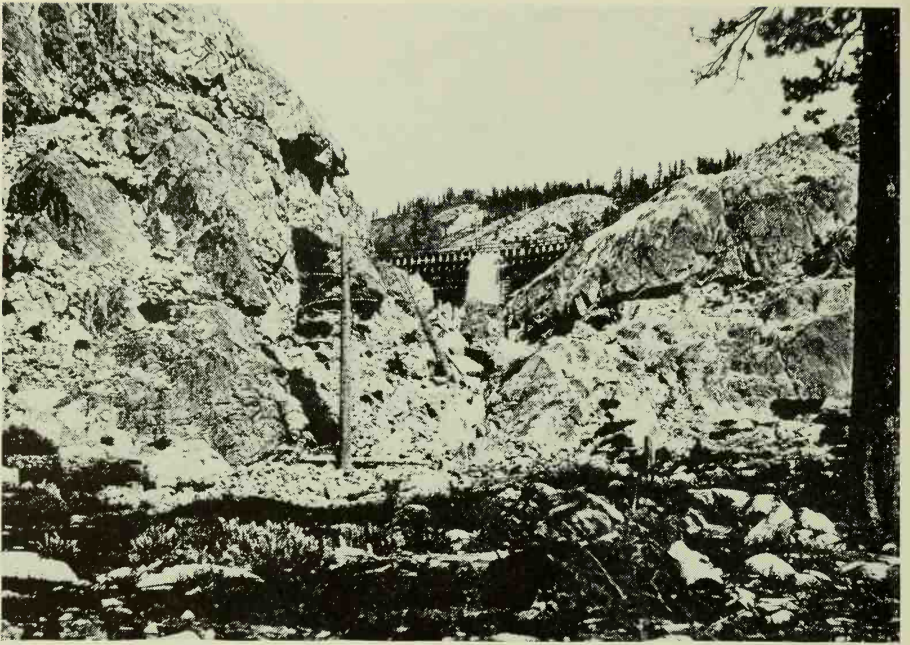


Figure 7. *Above:* view of Bowman waste dam in the mining days. (From photograph by Watkins in collection of Bancroft Library.) *Below:* the original dam, with the twentieth century replacement in the background and the Bowman-Spaulding conduit in the foreground.

fices, weirs, water wheels, and on the flow of water in pipe lines. Smith's paper, "Water Power with High Pressures and Wrought Iron Water Pipe," was awarded the American Society of Civil Engineers' Thomas Fitch Rowland Prize in 1884.²³ The results of his experiments on orifices and weirs still are quoted in present-day hydraulics textbooks.²⁴ His data on flow in pipes were obtained by tests conducted on such pipe lines as the Texas Creek and Humbug inverted siphons of the North Bloomfield system²⁵ and the Cherokee siphon described above. To provide more precise data on friction losses than was possible with experiments on large pipes, tests were made by Smith on relatively small pipes at the famous New Almaden quicksilver mine in Santa Clara County.

The orifice and weir experiments by Smith were conducted at Columbia Hill and North Bloomfield (Fig. 1) and were financed by the three large companies supplying water to the mines in that region. The purpose of the experiments was to provide precise discharge coefficients for the type of orifice that was used in metering water to the various mining operations. A complete description of the details of the tests is given in Smith's *Hydraulics*.

Hamilton Smith also is credited with giving modern tunnel building its start when he built the mile-and-a-half Malakoff tunnel at North Bloomfield in 1872 to explore and work gold-bearing gravel in an ancient stream channel.²⁶ Prior to construction of the Malakoff tunnel, tunnels generally were excavated from one end, sometimes from two ends. In the Malakoff tunnel, Smith worked from both ends but, in addition, sank eight shafts and worked both ways from each, thus giving sixteen faces to work on simultaneously. Examination of Smith's personal papers, now in the University of New Hampshire Library, shows that much information on tunnel construction was obtained in 1871 by correspondence with Edward Frost of Frost Brothers, consulting engineers of Boston, who gave Smith considerable data on costs, rate of progress, and other data obtained in constructing Hoosac tunnel on the Troy and Greenfield Railroad.

With the mounting opposition to hydraulic mining, as discussed below, Smith left California in 1881 for a successful mining career in South America, Africa, and London. Finally he formed a partnership in New York with Henry C. Perkins, inventor, as stated above, of the jet deflector, who had worked with Smith at North Bloomfield. Smith died on July 4, 1900, at his home in Durham, New Hampshire. His will provided funds for the library of the University of New Hampshire, which is known as the Hamilton Smith Library. Unfortunately, only a small portion of his personal books and papers is available to yield further information on a man who found time to perform classic engineering research at a time when the gold output of the mines was the important item to most people.

THE END OF HYDRAULIC MINING IN CALIFORNIA . . .

The eventual result of hydraulic mining was the filling of the river beds with debris to such an extent as to threaten agricultural interests throughout the great Central Valley of California. As the beds of such streams as the Sacramento and San Joaquin rose, the construction of levees became necessary. This involved the expenditure of many millions of dollars to protect agricultural lands from inundation and damage by sediment-deposit,²⁷ and resulted in legislation giving rise to the famous Sawyer decision.²⁸ Commenting on this decision, the *Mining and Scientific Press* of January 12, 1884, had a word of commiseration:

It seems strange that in California, known to the world's end as the "Land of Gold," any branch of mining should be declared a public nuisance. . . . The older Californians who have grown up with the state will hardly believe that such a thing could come to pass. . . . The misfortune falls on a community generally remarkable for their intelligent, noble and generous disposition, and even among their bitterest enemies sympathy is felt for their condition. Years ago not the most far-seeing man could have foretold such a result as this, as no parallel case has occurred in the world's history.

Legislation which resulted from Judge Lorenzo Sawyer's decision in "Woodruff v. North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Company" enjoined the deposit of mining debris in streams to the detriment of agricultural interests in the Sacramento Valley; hence, hydraulic mining was practically prohibited except under the most severe restrictions, involving the permanent impounding of the debris. Some attempts were made to transport gravel to storage basins by hydraulic elevators,²⁹ known today as the jet pump; however, such a practice was possible only in limited instances.³⁰ Hydraulic mining thereupon ceased to be a factor in California's production of wealth, and many hydraulic properties with their expensive investment were left almost valueless. The great scars on the hillsides, the gravel-choked streams, and the abandoned towns, roads, pipe lines, and canal systems bear impressive evidence of the extent of this early-day mining practice.

. . . AND THE BEGINNING OF HYDROELECTRIC POWER

After the cessation of hydraulic mining, the companies owning the reservoirs, flumes, and ditches gradually converted their facilities to irrigation purposes and to the development of electric energy for transmission over relatively long distances. Although the Pomona and Redlands plants, built in southern California in 1893, were the first important electric generating-plants in California, the Nevada Power plant, built in 1895 on the middle fork of the Yuba to serve mines near Nevada City,³¹ perhaps was the highest-head plant in America at the time.³² It is of interest historically as the first plant of the present-day Pacific Gas & Electric Co., which serves most of northern and central California.

When the demand for electric current exceeded the capacity of the Nevada plant, the Colgate plant was constructed in 1899 on the north fork of

the Yuba River (Fig. 1). This was one of the most widely-known plants in electrical history, as the 60,000-volt line running 140 miles to Oakland was the world's first long-distance transmission line.³³ Although the Nevada plant was closed in 1910 when its equipment became obsolete and was never reopened, the Colgate plant remained in operation until it was rebuilt in 1947 after having been damaged by fire on October 13, 1946.³⁴

The initial incentive to the rapid development of hydroelectric power in California was the high fuel costs existing at the time, practically all coal for power production being imported from Australia and British Columbia.³⁵ With oil production in California then very limited, the use of coal meant not only marine transportation but payment of an important customs duty. At this point, Lester Pelton comes into the picture. In 1880 at Camptonville, Yuba County (Fig. 1), he developed the Pelton type of bucket for use on impulse wheels. It involved the new idea of placing a center splitter in each bucket, thereby accomplishing a more effective flow of water than was obtainable with the crude hurdy gurdy. It constituted, in fact, the first step in placing the impulse wheel in the position it now holds as an efficient prime mover. Pelton's first water wheel was built of wood and old oyster cans.³⁶ One of his earliest models is on display in Sutter's Fort Historical Museum and was built to drive a neighbor's sewing machine.³⁷ Another small wheel, built from patterns supplied by Pelton, was tested in the University of California's hydraulic laboratory in 1883.³⁸ Summarizing the history of the water-wheel's development, Prof. W. F. Durand says:

This [the hurdy gurdy] seems to have been an independent development in these mountains, a natural growth of the environment and of the materials most conveniently at hand. Furthermore, though crude and relatively inefficient, it was easily made up of timber of which there was an abundant supply, and it can at least claim the credit of having served as the starting point for the more special developments which led to the later improved forms.³⁹

Another important development to come out of the early mining days—one which furthered the efficient operation of impulse wheels—was the invention in 1895, by André Chavanne⁴⁰ of Grass Valley, of the needle nozzle,⁴¹ a necessary part of all such present-day installations.

PRESENT-DAY POWER PLANTS

The highest-head hydroelectric plant in the United States today is the Bucks Creek plant in Plumas County which employs the Pelton-type wheel. There are at present approximately twelve hydroelectric plants in and around Nevada County, many of them using the ditches of the early-day mining companies. In most of these plants, water is used for irrigation purposes after passing through the turbines. At two of the plants, Bullard's Bar and the Upper Narrows dams on the Yuba River, power generation is merely a by-product, the main purpose of the dams being debris storage-basins to permit upstream mining operations.⁴²

An example of the utilization of mining works for power purposes is the

Big Bend or Las Plumas plant on the North Fork of the Feather River, fourteen miles above Oroville, California (Fig. 1). This plant utilizes a two and one-third mile long tunnel that was constructed in about 1882, through the narrowest part of the neck of the Big Bend of the North Fork of the Feather.⁴³ The object of the tunnel was to lay bare the fourteen miles of river bed around the loop so that its gravel might be prospected for gold. The project was a financial failure and the tunnel was not used until the Great Western Power Co.⁴⁴ put it into operation in 1908 to carry water to the Las Plumas plant, this plant now being a part of the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.'s system.

THE C. E. WATKINS PHOTOGRAPHS

For preserving a pictorial record of important engineering works of the early mining days, the engineering profession is indebted to C. E. Watkins, an early-day photographer of San Francisco, who toured the mining camps, developing his plates on the spot in a dark room mounted on a wagon. W. H. Brewer⁴⁵ of the Whitney geological surveys of California reported that he encountered him on his tours as early as 1864. Besides the mining camps, Watkins's photographs included points of interest along the entire Pacific coast. In 1906, he was negotiating with Stanford University for the sale of his collection of plates, photographs, etc., when the earthquake of April 18 struck San Francisco. His whole collection was destroyed in the fire which followed the quake.⁴⁶ He never recovered from the shock of his loss; he lived on, however, until 1916, dying at the age of eighty-one in the state hospital in Napa, California, on June 23 of that year.⁴⁷ Although Watkins's plates were destroyed, two notable collections of prints exist today—the Phoebe A. Hearst collection in the foyer of the Hearst Mining Building at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Bender collection in the Stanford University library. Many of the accompanying illustrations are prints from the Hearst collection.

The year in which Watkins took his Nevada County pictures is fixed by the following article in the *Mining and Scientific Press*, November 4, 1871:

PHOTOGRAPHIC MINING VIEWS—We had the pleasure a few days since, of examining some twenty photographic views recently taken of the North Bloomfield Gravel Mines. The pictures, which were taken by C. E. Watkins, of this city, are really masterpieces of the photographic art, and present the most perfect and lifelike representation of hydraulic mining which we have ever seen depicted on paper. The mines are shown from several different points, and distant views are given of the line of the company's ditches, their dams, reservoirs, etc.

These views have been taken to accompany and illustrate an elaborate report upon the mines, which has been prepared by Mr. Attwood, M.E., who is acting in behalf of a company of English capitalists, with whom the owners of these mines are negotiating for the sale of the same. The accurate distinctness with which they are shown, in connection with the topography of the country, timber, etc., is really remarkable, and affords another instance of the value of the photographic art in aiding the engineer to describe the progress and condition of his work. It is perhaps superfluous for us to state in this

connection that these are among the most valuable and extensive hydraulic mines in the State.

The engineering works described above are only a few of the spectacular projects of the early mining days. There are many others that could be mentioned, such as the first suspension bridge in California, constructed in 1856 at Bidwell's Bar and in use until converted into a state monument a few years ago. The construction of the Central Pacific in 1865, across the Sierra, was considered one of the feats of railroad history; this line, which is now part of the Southern Pacific system, follows the approximate southern boundary of Nevada County (Fig. 1). In more recent times, as in the building of Spaulding dam in 1913 (Fig. 1), a number of new engineering practices have been introduced, one of which was the first use of wide-belt conveyors to carry wet concrete up-grade.⁴⁸ But we are speaking of the *birthplace* of this type of ingenuity, to which Nevada County and vicinity, with its numerous and unique early-day activities, would seem rightfully able to lay claim. Spreading outward, north and south, east and west, have come the daring projects of today.

NOTES

1. A. A. Sargent, in his historical summary, Brown and Dallison's *Nevada, Grass Valley, and Rough and Ready Directory*, 1856, says:

"... one of the most important agents in developing the resources of the country has been the water introduced from the natural streams by means of ditches. . . . In March, 1850, the first enterprise of this kind was undertaken, but upon a small scale. It brought water from Mosquito Creek, a distance of a mile and a half, to Old Coyote Hill. Another ditch in May, 1850, took water from Little Deer Creek to Phelps's Hill, a short distance."

2. J. Ross Browne, *Resources of the Pacific Slope* (San Francisco, 1869), pp. 179-206. In a summary of mining activities for the year 1877, the *Mining and Scientific Press*, Jan. 19, 1878, states that 6000 miles of main ditch and 1000 miles of subsidiary ditch were then in use in California. The heaviest expenditure in canals and reservoirs was in Nevada County with El Dorado, Placer, and Amador counties following in the order listed.

3. George Black, *Report of the Middle Yuba Canal and Eureka Lake Canal, Nevada County, California* (San Francisco, 1864), 32 pp.

4. In the *Nevada Daily Gazette*, July 27, 1865, appears the statement:

"CONSOLIDATED—We learn that the Middle Yuba Canal and Water Company and Eureka Lake Water Company who have long been in litigation regarding their respective ditches and water privileges, have settled all their difficulties by consolidation. We did not learn the name of the new corporation." This consolidation is confirmed in Edwin F. Bean's *History and Directory of Nevada County, California* (Nevada, 1867), pp. 65 ff. The historical sketch is by E. G. Waite.

5. The *Hydraulic Press* (North San Juan) of Sept. 4, 1858, gives 1853 as the year when the town was christened, and relates the story of its naming. Later, the name was applied to the entire ridge between the south and middle forks of the Yuba. When the post office was established in 1857, the "North" was prefixed to distinguish it from San Juan in Monterey County.

6. James D. Hague, *The Water and Gravel Mining Properties Belonging to the Eureka Lake and Yuba Canal Company* (San Francisco, Dec. 22, 1876), 73 pp.

7. "Mining Gold in California," *Hutching's California Magazine*, II (July 1857), 14.
8. Bean's *History* . . . (as in note 4 above), p. 68.
9. For the origin of the name of the Magenta flume, see the North San Juan *Hydraulic Press*, July 16, 1859. See also the "Knaves," *Oakland Tribune*, Aug. 10, 1947, for an account of the stage stop at the flume.
10. Hamilton Smith, Jr., *Hydraulics* (New York, 1886), p. 237.
11. Thomas Egleston, *The Metallurgy of Silver, Gold, and Mercury in the United States* (New York, 1890), II, 160; W. W. Jenkins, "History of the Development of Placer Mining in California," *Publ.*, Hist. Soc. So. Calif., VII (1906-1908), 74.
12. A. J. Bowie, *A Practical Treatise on Hydraulic Mining in California* (New York, 1885), p. 172.
13. In "Irrigation Investigations in California," under the direction of Elwood Mead (*Bull.*, No. 100, U. S. Dept. Agr., Office of Experiment Stations, Washington, D. C., 1901), p. 142, the following statement is made:
 "Faucherie Lake is the basin of a natural lake, the surface of which was originally raised by a dam 44 feet high, forming a reservoir with an area of 139 acres, a catchment of 3,262 acres, and a capacity of 170,000,000 cubic feet. This dam was washed away and has been replaced by one 21 feet high, which forms a reservoir with an area of 90 acres, a capacity of 50,900,000 cubic feet, or about one-third the capacity of the reservoir as first constructed."
- In private correspondence with Forrest F. Varney, chief engineer and manager of the Nevada Irrigation District, in April 1949, it was stated that in about 1935 a portion of the dam was blown out, to allow water to flow through, and was never repaired as it was not considered to have enough value to balance the cost of extensive repairs. In 1942, the state division of water resources said that Faucherie Lake was no longer considered storage area.
14. A. J. Bowie, "The Destruction of the English Dam," *Trans.*, Tech. Soc. Pac. Coast, II (Jan. 1885), 1-10.
15. Milton Mining and Water Co., *An. Rept.*, 1878. Many interesting details on the construction and operation of the Ridge Telephone Co. are presented in "A Maker of Telephone History," *Standard Oil Bull.*, March 1934. Simultaneously with the application of the telephone to mining operations was the development of a telephone system in San Francisco. See the *Min. and Sci. Press*, May 18, 1873; in the issue of June 22, 1878, a complete listing of names, occupations, and addresses of the subscribers to the central system is given. "The manifest advantage of this centering idea is so great," says the issue of May 18, 1873, "that the great cities at the East are thinking of following the example set them by the enterprising company in San Francisco."
16. The *Min. and Sci. Press* of Jan. 4, 1861, commented "in favor of the Legislature giving tangible evidence of its appreciation of Mr. Matteson's genius, and the benefits he has rendered the state, by the invention of the hydraulic process of mining." In its Feb. 8, 1879, edition, the *Press* fixes the exact date of Matteson's first hydraulic mining as March 7, 1853.
17. F. J. Behneman, "Early History and Development of the Hydraulic Giant," *Stanley Journal of Machinery*, I (Oct. 1922), 169-72.
18. Egleston, *op. cit.*, II, 188. Of interest is an infringement of this device, as shown by the following advertisement inserted by Perkins in the *Min. and Sci. Press*, Nov. 9, 1878:
 "The public generally and the Hydraulic Miners especially are hereby notified that any parties making or using the contrivance known as the Hoskin Deflector will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, said machine having been declared by the U. S. Circuit Court an infringement upon my patent, the Bloomfield Deflecting Nozzle.
 "The public are also cautioned against using the Hoskin Deflector because of its dan-

ger to life and limb, this device already having occasioned several deaths and other serious accidents. The Bloomfield Deflector is entirely safe. . . ."

19. Ross E. Browne *et al*, "Tangential and Hurdy Gurdy Water Wheels," *Bull.*, No. 1, Dept. Mech. Engineering, Univ. Calif., 1883, pp. 1-15. The senior author's father was J. Ross Browne, cited in note 2 above—a man of many talents whose services as official reporter of the California constitutional convention of 1849 entitle him to unique fame.

20. Cited in note 10 above.

21. North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co., *An. Rept.*, Jan. 25, 1875.

22. "Memoir of Hamilton Smith, Jr.," *Trans.*, Am. Soc. Civil Engineers, XLVI (1901), 564-65.

23. Hamilton Smith, Jr., "Water Power with High Pressures and Wrought Iron Water Pipe," *ibid.*, XIII (1884), 15-31.

24. G. E. Russell, *Hydraulics* (New York, 1942), p. 112.

25. Hamilton Smith, Jr., *Hydraulics*, pp. 290-302.

26. Egleston, *op. cit.*, II, 203; *History of Nevada County* (Oakland, 1880), p. 184. In the Hague collection, Huntington Library, is a tabular statement for the entire period of construction (Apr. 25, 1872, to Nov. 17, 1874) of the Malakoff tunnel. The statement gives a complete account of distances, water pumped, power consumed, and costs of materials and labor for each of the eight shafts; included is a profile and map of the tunnel. A published version of the above statement appears in Egleston, *loc. cit.*

27. The filling of the rivers by hydraulic mining debris, and the consequent damage to the agricultural lands, brought on conflict between the mining and farming interests. One such instance was the destruction, on June 18, 1883, of the middle dam of the three dams forming English reservoir. This reservoir was then the property of the Milton Mining and Water Co., which was owned partly by the North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. Although no criminal, as far as known, was ever brought to trial, the *An. Rept.* of the latter company for 1883 states that the English dam was maliciously destroyed. A detailed account of the resulting flood on the Middle Yuba River appears in this *QUARTERLY*, XXVIII (Sept. 1949), 233 ff. Not referred to in this article is the technical paper by Bowie, cited in note 14 above. Bowie stated that except for the destruction of L'Habro dam in the Province of Oran, Algeria, the English-dam break involved "probably the largest quantity of water ever set free at once from an artificial reservoir in the history of the world." An account of the disaster may be found in the *San Francisco Call*, June 20, 1883. Because of the adverse decision rendered on Jan. 7, 1884, by Judge Lorenzo Sawyer, the dam was not rebuilt. The water which this reservoir would now store is delivered into Bowman reservoir through a 4-mile long tunnel, constructed by the Nevada Irrigation District in 1928, and extending from the Milton dam on the Middle Yuba River to the upper end of Bowman reservoir.

28. Woodruff *vs.* North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co., *et al.*, Jan. 23, 1884. As was to be expected, the reaction to this famous decision depended on whether the individual was from the mining country or the farming areas of the state. Examples of these sentiments appeared in the *Sacramento Daily Record*, Jan. 14, 1884, wherein selected comments from several newspapers throughout the state were summarized. The *Nevada City Transcript*, representing the miners' viewpoint, is quoted as saying:

"It would be difficult to find in all the law reports a more partisan decision than that of Judge Sawyer recently delivered in the debris case of Woodruff *vs.* the North Bloomfield Mining Company *et als.* Since the inception of this case in his Court, until the close of the delivery of his most unjust and partisan decision, his prejudice against the miners has been so prominent in all ways that it has been the subject of frequent comment. . . ."

Reflecting the opinion of the agricultural areas, the *Valley Advocate* stated:

"If there ever was a righteous and just decision it is that of Judge Sawyer in the Wood-

ruff case. Had such a decision been rendered ten years ago it would have been better for the people of the mountains as well as those of the valley. . . ."

29. Regarding the first use of hydraulic elevators, T. J. Barbour makes the following comment in the symposium "California Mines and Minerals," published by the Calif. Miners' Assoc. for the Calif. meeting of the Am. Inst. of Mining Engineers, 1899:

"Hydraulic mining, in all countries, is frequently bothered by poor dumping facilities. To obviate same, many schemes have been originated so as to allow the tailings to be carried through a sufficient length of sluice box to save the gold, and, at the same time, far enough away from the face to provide ample surface.

"One of the many devices, which have lately attained great prominence, is that of the Evans Hydraulic Gravel Elevator. This machine is the invention of George H. Evans, a mining engineer, who developed it during the course of his operations in New Zealand. On his arrival in California, the writer assisted Mr. Evans in the development of the machine to the success it has attained today."

30. H. P. Gordon, "Hydraulicking in California," *Min. and Sci. Press*, C (May 21, 1910), 750.

31. R. McF. Doble, "Hydro-Electric Development and Transmission in California," *Jour., Assoc. Engineering Soc.*, XXXIV (March 1905), 75-98.

32. A. Rice, "The History of the Nevada Power Plant," *Pac. Gas and El. Mag.*, I (Dec. 1909), 305.

33. "Story of First Long-Distance Transmission at High Voltage," *Pac. Service Mag.*, XVII (Oct. 1929), 314. See also *Pac. Gas and El. Progress*, XXIV (Jan. 1947), 1.

34. "Why the 'Rome' Power Plant Is Closed," *Pac. Gas and El. Mag.*, II (Nov. 1910), 187.

35. W. E. Meservey, "Early History of the Ditches owned by 'Pacific Service' in Nevada County," *Pac. Service Mag.*, V (July 1913), 63.

36. *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1946.

37. It should be mentioned that this small wheel, which is credited to Pelton by Joseph Henry Jackson in *Anybody's Gold* (New York, 1941), p. 414, is not the type embodying the fundamentally new idea of placing a center splitter in the bucket, but, instead, is of the crude hurdy-gurdy type used in most of the early hand-made turbines.

38. The results of these tests constitute *Bull.*, No. 1 (1883), U. C. Dept. Engin., under the title, "Tangential and Hurdy Gurdy Water Wheels," by Ross E. Browne. The wheel is now on display in the hydraulic laboratory of the state university at Berkeley. A photograph is on file in the collection of the California Historical Society.

39. W. F. Durand, "The Pelton Water Wheel, I—Developments by Pelton and others Prior to 1880; II—Developments by Doble and Others, 1880 to date," *Mechan. Engineering*, LXI (June 1939), 447 ff, and (July 1939), 511 ff. The passage quoted here occurs on p. 448 of the June issue.

40. The French were important contributors to the development of Nevada County. A review of their activities in California history is presented in *Notre Centenaire*, edited by Jehanne Bietry-Salinger (San Francisco, 1949). André Chavanne was among the first of the French to arrive in Grass Valley. Shortly afterwards he started mining operations. In addition to the active development of some of the important mines in the Grass Valley area, Chavanne was responsible for the development of the famous Sheep Ranch Mine in Calaveras County, which later was sold to the Hearst interests. His "Burning of the *Golden Gate* in July 1862—The Impressions of a Survivor," appeared in this *QUARTERLY*, March 1940, pp. 27-42.

41. *Nevada County Mining Review* (Grass Valley: Daily Morning Union, 1895), p. 142. To quote from the first paragraph of the *Review's* account of Chavanne's device: "An invention of the utmost importance, for the purpose of providing the nozzles of

water pipes discharging a stream of water under high pressure with a simple and effective regulator, and applicable to a great many uses, has recently been patented by Mons. A. Chavanne, M. E., of Grass Valley. Having been fortunate enough to secure drawings and explanations belonging thereto, we take pleasure in giving the public their first knowledge of this device, and entreat them to study it carefully for their own benefit."

By way of summation, the *Review* says: "With this device shocks, chokings and windings are avoided. There is no waste of water and the constant shutting off or opening of a gate is unnecessary. This new regulator works at present, and very successfully, at the Independence Mine, Grass Valley."

42. G. A. Hunt, "Pacific Service and Cooperation—Bullard's Bar Power Development," *Pac. Service Mag.*, XVII (Jan. 1930), 347.

43. Egleston, *op. cit.*, II, 47; and F. H. Fowler, "Hydroelectric Power Systems of California and Their Extensions in Oregon and Nevada," U.S.G.S. *Water Supply Paper*, No. 493 (1923), p. 364.

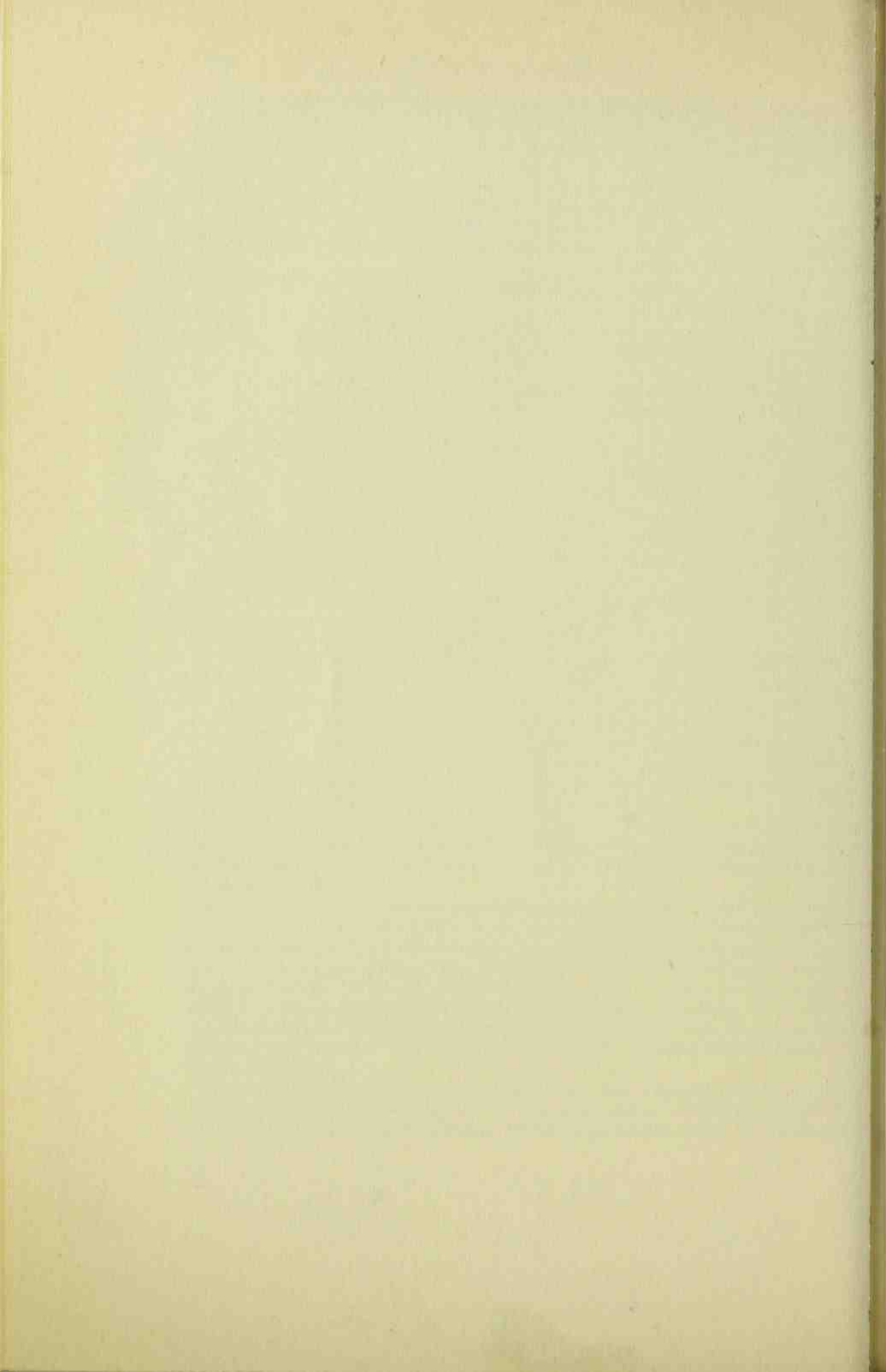
44. "The Great Western Power Company," *Pac. Service Mag.*, XVIII (July 1930), 4.

45. W. H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 406, 413.

46. H. L. Smith, "Placer Mines of California" (MS, together with copies of Hearst collection of Watkins photographs, Bancroft Library).

47. Calif. state library, card catalog.

48. *Pac. Service Mag.*, V (Feb. 1914), 297.



Medical Observations of J. P. Leonard, M.D.

San Francisco and Sacramento, 1849

Edited by ROBERT T. LEGGE, M.D.

FOREWORD. The two letters, from which excerpts are transcribed below, were written by J. P. Leonard, M.D., of Rhode Island, who arrived in San Francisco via the Isthmus of Panama in 1849. They appeared originally, under the title "Letters from California," in Vol. XLI, No. 3 and No. 20* (Aug. 22 and Dec. 19, 1849) of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, then the foremost medical journal in America. Sub-head for the first letter runs: "Climate and Diseases of the Country—Gold Digging—the Cholera"; for the second, it is much more extended: "Sickness at San Francisco and Sacramento City—Diseases, their Causes and Treatment—The Medical Profession—Sacramento City—Meteorological Observations—Present Condition and future Prospects of California, etc."

Dr. Leonard was a scholarly man and learned physician, familiar with the classics and with poetry from which he quotes. Like all the other physicians of his time, he lived in the pre-Pasteur era and was not acquainted with the causes of infectious diseases as they are known today. Fevers then called congestive, remittent, and intermittent, and intestinal diseases classified as dysentery, bilious diarrhoea, and cholera, are now diagnosed as distinct entities, the organisms that cause them are known, and prevention and therapy are scientifically achieved.

FIRST LETTER (dated June 30, 1849)

The journey between New Orleans and Chagres was made in April 1849 on board the "propeller Col. Staunton." He reports cases of cholera on the ship and between Chagres and Panama, with some deaths. From Panama he took the SS. *Oregon*, May 23, 1849, for San Francisco, where he arrived on June 13, the voyage of twenty-one days including some five days' detention at Acapulco, San Blas, San Diego, and Monterey. In some of these towns there were no physicians, so medical services were in great demand. At San Blas, "an unhealthy town," situated in low marshy country, many were suffering from fever and from venereal disease, without any medical treatment. They were eager to receive professional advice and paid liberally for it. During the first week, the passengers suffered from heat and overcrowding. As the ship approached higher latitudes, those debilitated by sickness at Panama recovered. He does not mention having seen any yellow fever cases on the Isthmus.

Dr. Leonard was interested in the climatology of the voyage, and so he

*Both of these century-old editions of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* have been presented by Dr. Legge to the California Historical Society.—Ed.

introduces into his letter a table, compiled by a Mr. Whiting, mate of the *Oregon*, showing the daily temperature of the air and the sea-water between Panama (air, 80 deg.; water, 80 deg.) and San Francisco (air, 57 deg.; water, 47 deg.).

Of San Francisco he says that it is "located at the foot of a ridge of mountains, which hug the shore for a distance further than the eye can reach, and as they gradually slope towards the water's edge, the ground becomes nearly level in some places, so that almost any feature is presented as mountain, hill and dale, as it were embracing each other, in picturesque grandeur. . . ."

At the time of his arrival in San Francisco, there were about 6000 inhabitants, mostly Americans, who possessed "the national characteristic styled '*go-a-headativeness*.'" The condition of society was better than he expected to find it. He called the climate "healthy, but cool and unpleasant. The mornings are tolerably warm, but not infrequently foggy and damp. About 12 o'clock M., the north-west trades commence blowing . . . rendering woolen clothing as necessary as in New England in the months of March and April." Thirty miles from San Francisco, in any direction, he characterizes the climate as

mild and agreeable, but not as healthy as in San Francisco—intermitting, remitting and congestive fevers being prevalent. These fevers, however, are not common, except in marshy districts, and on large streams. Were it not for the influence of marsh miasm, California would be as healthy as any climate in the world. The diseases originating in the immediate vicinity of San Francisco are acute catarrh and diarrhoea. The former complaint is to be attributed to the habitual changes of temperature, and the latter to a saline principle contained in the water. The water *probably* contains sulphate of magnesia. I judge from its taste, its aperient properties, and the fact that magnesia is found deposited in the earthy and rocky structures of this region. Crystals resembling Epsom salts are deposited upon bricks where this water has been used in mixing the clay of which they are formed. I have as yet had no opportunity of submitting them or the water to chemical tests. The water evidently contains iron parytes [pyrites].

Catarrhal complaints do not, as a general thing, require medical treatment. The diseases of the bowels are readily cured by the use of mild opiates, proper diet, and abstinence for a time from the water as a beverage. I have treated quite a number of patients for diarrhoea, and, as far as my limited experience enables me to judge, it is a very manageable complaint.

Owing to the constant changes of temperature, the thermometer varying daily as it does, on an average from 45° to 60°F., and not unfrequently the mercury ranges from 45° to 70° in the course of twelve hours, I supposed that chronic bronchial and pulmonary diseases were common here; but I see no evidence yet to confirm such an hypothesis.

Fevers do not originate here. The only cases that I have seen are patients who have contracted the disease elsewhere. Patients are often sent down from the mines for medical aid. These fevers present nothing peculiar. In this atmosphere fever patients soon get well, with the aid of tonics and proper care.

Miners and others are very liable to get poisoned. No one has yet been able to satisfy me what the offending material is. It grows all about the outskirts of the town and in the interior.¹ Persons who lay on the ground and travel through the woods are most liable to it. I suppose every one to be so, who comes in contact with the poison. It produces

violent inflammation of the skin, the areolar tissue becomes thickened, and pus sometimes forms. It manifests a partiality to parts—thus the eyes, face and scrotum are the most frequent seats of the disease. The best treatment appears to be cathartics, cooling lotions, rest and low diet. It may become *chronic*, and on the whole is an unmanageable complaint. . . .

The complaints most common in the mining districts are congestive, intermittent and remittent fevers, and disorders of the bowels.

But taking California as a country, it is remarkable for the salubrity of its climate, the fertility of its soil, as well as the unequalled wealth of its mines.

Dr. Leonard concludes this letter with a paragraph on malignant cholera, taking up a discussion he had contributed to the previous volume of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. He had, he says,

assumed that malignant cholera had never prevailed on the Pacific shores of the American continent, but did not attempt an explanation of the question why it had not, it having been often introduced. I cannot ascertain that the cholera ever prevailed as an epidemic at Valparaiso, Panama, Acapulco, San Blas, San Diego, Mazatlan, or Monterey. The fact is certainly a very curious one, and conflicts somewhat with the doctrines of "*contagion*" and "*electric influence*." It conflicts with the first, because it did not extend to the physicians, nurses, and others who came in contact with the sick. Dr. ———, who had the cholera on board the Staunton, and attended one patient at Panama, was a fellow passenger with me in the Oregon. He says it did not appear to him to be contagious. The woman who washed the clothes that he had on at the time of his sickness, was in good health when he left Panama, a month afterwards. The trunks, baggage and effects of those who died at sea were sold at auction, but experience has proved that they were destitute of *fomites*. It had the same bearing upon the second doctrine, because the circumstances to which the advocates of this theory attribute the origin of the malady would be just as effective on *this* as on the *Atlantic* side of the continent.

To what cause shall we attribute the origin and progress of this devastating and fearful pestilence, if not to that unknown one, *epidemic influence*?

The posing of this question concludes the doctor's first letter.

SECOND LETTER (dated October 24, 1849)

In this letter, Dr. Leonard reports upon the vast amount of sickness in San Francisco. During the months of August and September there were from five to ten interments daily. The prevailing complaints were dysentery and diarrhoea. Several deaths were due to pulmonary disorders and to fever contracted at Panama and in the valley of the Sacramento. Scurvy was carrying off many of the miners. The U.S. sloop of war *Warren*, then in port, had five sailors ill with this complaint. Continuing, Dr. Leonard said:

Intemperance, dissipation, disappointment, privations, exposure, etc., have had more to do with this fatality, as a general thing, than the diseases themselves; for I believe it is the opinion of every one that the affections of this climate are all very manageable, with the exception of pulmonary and bronchial complaints, if the patients are seasonably and well cared for. . . . Let a man who has indulged in dissipation and imprudencies be taken ill, and for the first few days not have medical aid, sleeping in a tent upon the ground, or, as it often happens, be obliged to lay out doors without any one to care for him, and it is not in the least degree mysterious or strange that the patient dies; I only wonder that so many of the sick, thus subjected to change of life, of manner of living, and of climate, many of whom are men of dissolute habits, do recover under these circumstances. This

is the fate, the lamentable fate, the mournful story, of many a young man who left friends and home only a few months ago in perfect health, with high hopes and bright prospects of the future, to seek fortunes among the golden sands of California. During a long sea voyage, or during their sojourn here, mingling with the multitude, their morals having become corrupted, their substance wasted, and their health seriously impaired, they are seized with disease, fall victims to its power, and their mouldering ashes sleep. . . . Individuals of all nations, kindred and tongues, compose the silent groups; no stone marks the name of the departed, or designates the final resting-place of him whose earthly pilgrimage terminates here.

I have known five coroner's inquests held in one day. By far the greater number of burials are paid for from the public treasury. Few deaths have occurred among those who live in houses, who have ordinary comforts, and are well provided for. Women and children enjoy much better health than men; there has only been a very limited number of deaths among them—a fact worthy of notice, which I account for by the fact that the latter are generally more temperate, more cleanly in their personal habits, and less exposed, than men.

Dr. Leonard had recently made a tour to Sacramento where he spent some time. It was, he said, a prosperous city of 10,000 inhabitants, and was rapidly increasing in wealth and importance. The wild grass, the shrubbery interspersed among groves of trees, gave the outlying countryside some resemblance to old parks scattered here and there, while within the city, the trees (some of them of immense size), lining the streets, formed "elegant and lovely shades and ornaments." He described the inundations which occur in some seasons and are the cause, he thought, of exhalations that help to form the miasmatic and noxious materials which germinate disease in the city.² . . . August and September are the most unhealthy months. . . . In the latter part of September of the present year [1849], the nights were cool and the days hot. I observed the mercury to be sometimes as low as 45° at 6, A.M.; and the same day at 2, P.M., it would stand at 104°! Such great changes in temperature, without the influence or concurrence of other causes, must and do exert very deleterious effects upon the inhabitants. Remittent, intermittent and congestive fevers are common diseases, and are generally associated with dysentery or diarrhoea. The same disastrous results have obtained there, as I have spoken of as sources of disease at San Francisco, and for the same reasons many cases have proved fatal. I have referred to want of means, care, etc., and to the dissolute and improvident habits and management of the patients themselves. . . . While I was making a short stay at Sacramento city, I had occasion to treat eight cases of fever, two of dysentery, and several of diarrhoea, besides seeing many others in the hospitals and private practice of other physicians. Patients who had good nursing, comfortable apartments and early treatment, generally speedily recovered.

The remittent fever is generally ushered in with a chill, violent pain in the head, limbs and loins; but the chill, usually, is only slight. . . . Afterwards there is great heat and febrile excitement at particular periods, for the first few days. . . . During the remissions these symptoms are for the most part wanting, and there is dull headache, no thirst, and an inclination to sleep. . . .

The congestive form of this fever is very rare in persons of temperate habits; it may become so, however, in many instances, for want of timely treatment, or rendered so by mal-practice, particularly in plethoric subjects.

I have seen but one case where bloodletting was indicated. Cathartics are not often called for, and the same may be said of emetics and all other depletive remedies, such as purga-

tive doses of calomel, antimony, etc. Heat should be applied to the extremities (mustard plasters), and cool applications should be directed to the head when there is strong febrile action. Some sudorific should be administered, such as copious draughts of some simple drink, as barley or crust water, with a few drops of the wine of ipecac., and paregoric added to it. This plan will much relieve the patient, and prevent symptoms of congestion. . . . As soon as the febrile symptoms and headache have subsided, quinine should be given in two-grain doses, three or four times a-day, until the patient regains his usual strength. As soon as it will be prudent, he should be allowed a generous diet, with wine and water or porter. He should take only moderate exercise, and avoid exposure to the morning or evening air, or to the influence of the hot sun. This method of treatment, the outlines of which are here essentially given, has been very successful with me, and I have treated a sufficient number of cases to predicate the doctrine that the disease does not require what is sometimes styled "Herculean treatment" to bring it to a successful termination.

He had prescribed, he said, for many cases of intermitting fever, or fever and ague; he did not find "those enormous and *excessive* doses of calomel and quinine necessary or required, which some writers and practitioners so strenuously recommend. I have never," he declared, "given more than two or three grains of quinine at a dose," and he had employed calomel but seldom, and then very sparingly. "If intermitting fever is the same all over the world, I do not hesitate," said Dr. Leonard, "to declare that those who have had the complaint have suffered (in the aggregate) as much from maltreatment and over-dosing, as from the fever itself." He deplored the use of debilitating remedies—calomel, emetics, cathartics. "Some of these remedies are *never* prescribed—'pro optimo est minime malus,' so that we are only to make use of such agents as promise good and do not endanger the life of the patient, as is the case with all depleting medicines. One great object is to sustain and nurse the strength of the sick person."

As to scurvy, he held that "dietetic treatment of the right kind is more availing than any other. A vegetable diet is all important; *potatoes and onions* are more serviceable in scurvy, than drugs."³

Dr. Leonard comments upon the full complement of medical men in San Francisco. Medical fees were "generally paid either by the patient, his friends, or by the Common Council." Fees could, in fact, "be collected by law, or the debtor could be imprisoned or whipped."

He had an excursion on a sailboat in San Francisco bay—a very pleasant event. He had enjoyed, too, an October rain. "Since this 'meteorological innovation,' as a rain storm at this season is termed, the sickness has abated, and it would not be improper to say that San Francisco is now a healthy place." He reports on the growth and advancement of San Francisco: "Large and commodious buildings have taken the place of shanties; fine mansions and cottages are now where tents and cabins were four months ago; hospitals, churches and theatres are now in progress. The commercial interests of San Francisco are not small, and are rapidly increasing . . . in a few months California will become a State, having a good and wholesome government . . .

she must inevitably rise to a high and noted position, and have dignity and station among her sister States."

With this cheerful prophecy, Dr. Leonard closes the second letter.

NOTES

1. Our common poison oak, *Rhus diversiloba*. This is probably the first published description of the skin disease it produces.

2. It was not known then that the anopheles mosquito is the carrier of malaria.

3. Scurvy is a deficiency disease due to lack of ascorbic acid, Vitamin C. Both of these foods contain Vitamin C.

Albert Little Bancroft

His Account Books and Ledger Sheets

By HENRY R. WAGNER

(Continued)

The most important of the documents received from Mrs. Donald H. Fry are the two diaries which appeared in the *QUARTERLY* for June 1950, and the account books which contain minute entries of household and personal expenses. None of them contains accounts of the Bancroft companies, nor do they show any income from outside sources. They simply show each month the amount drawn for personal expenses, and only sufficient was drawn to meet those expenses except, I think, in one case. They show a gradually increasing monthly expenditure of from roughly \$400 up to over \$1,000 per month. In the latter instance, of course, there were more children. Mrs. Fry said that it was generally believed in her family that in the 1880's, before the fire on the Bancroft premises in April 1886, her father's income had been about \$30,000 a year.

We left Albert in 1861, with his unfinished diary but now a member of the firm of H. H. Bancroft & Co. with one-quarter interest. On the evening of March 17, 1862, Albert left on a vacation trip to visit his parents who were then in Fort Simcoe, Washington. He spent one day in Sacramento and saw all the trade, and on the nineteenth went to Marysville by steamer. He was trying to get advertisements from the hotels but met with little success. He spent a day at Bidwell's Bar with his brother, Curtis, and then went to Oroville. He proceeded by stage to Portland, passing Jacksonville, Oregon, on April fifth. From Portland he went to The Dalles and then some sixty miles north to Fort Simcoe on the Yakima Indian Reservation. On May 15 he celebrated his twenty-first birthday with his parents and then returned to Portland. From there he went to Victoria by steamer but only stayed one day, May 21, as he said he received a letter from "Hube" to come back as he wanted to leave.

On Albert's return to San Francisco, he took up the management of the concern and his brother left for New York by steamer on May 31, 1862, on the *Orizaba* with his wife. Hubert came back some time about the end of the year. In a sense it was a honeymoon trip. Albert tells us in his "Card String of Events" that after Hubert returned from abroad he bought heavily in New York for Albert to pay for at once with money borrowed from the bank. Upon his arrival at San Francisco, almost the first question he asked was about the loan and the bank account. With considerable satisfaction Albert was able to tell him that it was paid and that they had \$7,000 in the bank. It was a good deal of a surprise to him, and, for weeks, what to do with

that surplus worried him more than the same amount of indebtedness would have done. It was kept in the business, however, and the business pushed forward.

After Hubert's return, Albert went to New York early in 1863 and opened an office, chiefly as a buying agency for the firm.

In the summer of 1863 Albert took a trip with his sister Emily, her daughter Anna, and a niece Emma C. Derby, down the St. Lawrence River to the Thousand Islands, Quebec, and thence to the White Mountains and Boston, and fetched up at Greenport, Long Island, where he met his future wife, Frances Ann Watts. In New York City Albert made his home with Mrs. J. S. Leonard, on Seventh Avenue, corner of Thirteenth Street, and was present during the draft riots of 1863. On May 23 and 24, 1865, Albert was in Washington, D. C., where he saw the Grand Review of the Army of the Potomac, and in November he had his portrait painted by P. P. Ryder, a gift for his future bride, whom he married on January 11, 1866. They left the same morning by steamer for the Isthmus, and arrived in San Francisco on February 2 on the *Golden Age*. A few weeks later, sometime in March, perhaps, Hubert and his wife went East. They stayed in New York until August 8, when they sailed on the *Scotia*. They remained in Europe until 1868.

Below is given an analysis of Albert's account books and, especially, of the loose ledger sheets which occurred in them. All entries of no significance have been omitted. The brackets are used to denote information gleaned from other sources, chiefly Albert's card string of events.

1866. This is the first of Albert's account books and shows no entry of interest.

1867. Lacking up to October third. Some entries of cash were drawn from the firm, some for household expenses and some for small payments to Kenny. Albert's first child, a boy, was born on June twentieth and baptized Hubert Howe Bancroft, Jr.

An inventory was taken some time at the end of 1867, the statement of which was written by Albert on a page pasted to the inside cover of his 1866, 1867, and 1868 account books, which are together in one volume.

January 17, 1868:

Mdse	\$234,122.30	
" on sale	58,013.44	
E. cash a/c	13,220.14	
Outstanding a/cs	67,102.59	
H.H.B.		\$198,890.27
A.L.B.		53,494.90
Const. a/cs		58,013.44
Due by us		62,059.86
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$372,458.47	\$372,458.47

(A photostatic copy of the original is in the collection of the California Historical Society.)

The federal legal-tender law of 1862 was the direct cause of the unexampled prosperity which H. H. Bancroft & Co. enjoyed during its existence. As Albert says in his card string of events:

We bought goods in the East in currency; brought them out to California and sold them for gold at a gross profit of fifty per cent wholesale and one hundred per cent retail. At its highest gold was worth about \$250 in currency and currency was forty cents in gold. We made more in selling our gold when buying eastern exchange than we did on our goods.

Elsewhere he refers to the illegality of the legal tender law which was a god-send to them. The increased profits became so large by 1866 that Hubert Bancroft was able to go to Europe and spend no less, probably, than \$25,000 for furniture, antiques, rugs, etc., for the new house he expected to build in San Francisco, over and above his traveling expenses.

In addition to this unexpected profit, California was in a boom during most of the 1860's, in expectation of the coming of the transcontinental railroad. On Hubert's return from Europe in 1868, he was so well-satisfied with Albert's management of the business that he raised Albert's interest in the firm from one-quarter of a share to one-half. I do not find that Albert mentioned this fact, but the article entitled "A Cosmopolitan Publishing House," published in 1881 in *The Paper World*, so states, and some years later the same fact is noted in Albert's account book; that is to say, that he had a one-half interest in the business.

The figures in Albert's statement are certainly remarkable, considering that the business was started on a shoestring with debts far exceeding any money put into it. In fact it seems almost incredible. W. H. Knight, in his article in the *Los Angeles Times* of March 10, 1918 (referred to in the *June Quarterly*), says that in 1863 they sold 1,600 copies of *Bancroft's New Law and Form Book*.

1868. H. H. Bancroft returned from his European trip on the *Colorado*, arriving at San Francisco from the Isthmus on November 9, having sailed from New York to the Isthmus on October 16 on the *Ocean Queen*.

1869. Albert and his wife left San Francisco on the *Golden Age* on February 6, and arrived at the Isthmus on February 23. They sailed on the *Alaska* on February 25, and arrived on February 28 in New York. They went to Bloomington, where they left the baby with Mrs. Bancroft's parents, then to Indianapolis and Buffalo in April. They visited Niagara Falls in May. In June they were in Philadelphia, and in June they also went to Newport and Boston. Then they went to Worcester and Hartford and from there to New Haven. They returned to New York on June 23 where they remained

until July 13, when they sailed on the steamer *Malta* for Europe. The tickets to Queenstown, Ireland, cost \$80 gold or \$110 paper money each.

They arrived in Queenstown on July 26. They traveled around Ireland, visiting Cork, Dublin, and Belfast, and on August 6 arrived in Glasgow, Scotland. They visited Edinburgh and the principal cities of the British Islands, finally arriving in London on August 26, where they remained until September 11, when they went to Paris. They remained there until the 15th and on September 16 arrived in Geneva, Switzerland. They visited Lucerne, Berne, Basel, Zurich and many of the mountain resorts, and arrived in Baden Baden, Germany, on October 19. Via Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Cologne and Düsseldorf they went to Berlin, where they remained until November 12. From there they went to Leipzig and Dresden. They arrived in Prague on November 20 and left there for Nuremberg on the 23d. They arrived in Munich on the 27th and in Vienna on December 1. From here they traveled through Italy, visiting Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, Leghorn and Rome.

1870. They remained in Rome until January 27, and then went to Naples, Messina, Syracuse, Taormina, and arrived in Athens on February 11. They also visited Brindisi and Corfu and returned to Naples on February 17. There they remained until the 27th, when they left for Genoa. They now traveled along the Riviera and arrived in Paris on March 10th, where they remained until April 12, when they went to London. Here they remained until May 10, when they went to Liverpool and from there to Queenstown. They sailed on the *S.S. Batavia* on May 14 and arrived in New York on the 25th. Their tickets cost \$178.50 or seventeen pounds seventeen shillings each. They left New York on June 10, and he arrived in San Francisco on June 18. Mrs. Bancroft went to Bloomington to visit her parents and pick up their son, with whom she returned to San Francisco in August. Albert totals his expenses for his European trip at \$9,136, excluding commissions for others.

On May 5 he had received from S. Low & Co. in London on account of A. L. Bancroft & Co. ninety pounds, which is the first mention of the new company. On June 23, after his arrival in San Francisco, he again mentions A. L. Bancroft & Co., indicating that the name had been changed during his absence. On the same day he charged Hubert Howe Bancroft, his brother, \$652 for books bought for him in Paris. We know that Hubert bought from Tross in 1870 one or more of the books which Tross had bought at the Andrade sale in Leipzig and this charge probably represents what Albert paid Tross for them.

Albert had loaned money to Mrs. Stella B. Sexton, his wife's cousin, while in Paris which was repaid in gold in New York. He notes several sales of gold at a premium.

1871. In May, he paid \$492.50 for two paintings he had bought in Rome.

On October 18, Frank Watts, Albert's second son, was born. Albert gave Curtis Ashley \$50.

1872. On February 21, the golden wedding of Albert's parents was celebrated. His principal outlays this year were for building the addition to his cottage at Franklin and Pine streets, San Francisco. His total expenditure for the year was \$9,291.60.

1873. As of March 2, his expenses averaged about \$600 a month. Alberta, his first daughter, was born.

1874. His expenses now averaged about \$700. On a loose slip of paper, his balance at A. L. Bancroft & Co. is given as \$42,156.23. In the back of this account book is a note: "About January 6, 1874, talked with F. P. Stone and arranged a general plan with regard to his salary, everything going on prosperously with us and him in 1874 and 1875 [code] for 1876 & 1877 [code] for 1878, 1879 & 1880 [code]." (This is obviously a long-range plan.) There is also a loose slip of paper itemizing assets for security of W. B. Wardwell [a relative of Albert's wife], for whom he endorsed a note of \$2,500. The assets consisted of the brig *Kalua*, cattle, a cargo of lumber, and goods at Navigators' Islands.

1875. Balance (on slip in 1874 book), January 1, 1875 \$35,256.34. January 16, Albert left for the east with his wife. Melissa (Mrs. Trevett) and her two daughters met them in New York. March 13, she sailed for Germany with her children. April 2, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Bancroft arrived in San Francisco. In July he gave Harlow \$30.

[During this year, Albert was building his house on California and Franklin streets, San Francisco. This was on the property which he and Hubert had bought in 1862 and where Hubert had started to build a house in 1869.]

At the end of this account book is a note: Allowed to Mrs. M. B. Trevett \$20 a mo. during 1875 which was passed to her cr. on bks. of A. L. B. & Co. \$240.

Another note states: April 27, 1875, endorsed W. B. Wardwell's note for \$1200, 60 days time.

1876 and 1877. [There are no account books for these two years, but there is an account sheet of totals in the back of the account book for 1878, which is headed, "A. L. B.'s personal account with A. L. B. & Co." and covers the years 1875 to 1879 inclusive. This is, however, in code. It is obvious from later account books that an inventory was taken in 1876 or 1877, which showed a great increase in the assets of the firm.]

1878. On January 3, he paid \$205.65 for 160 acres of land in Lake County in the name of Mrs. E. A. Watts. From May to December, Kate [Hubert's daughter] was living with Albert's family and he was drawing \$50 a month for her board. During this year, he continued to allow Melissa \$20 a month.

Summary of 1878 balance:

Recd. from A. L. B. & Co. as per ledger	\$23,949.17	
Recd. from other sources	332.40	\$24,281.57
<hr/>		
Pd. on a/c of mortgage on residence	\$13,000.00	
Used for outside business matters	1,728.87	
Family etc. etc. expenses	9,508.55	\$24,237.42
<hr/>		

1879. January 1, balance by ledger, \$128,986.85.* On July 3, Sara was born. In November, Albert gave his wife \$50 to add to the \$450 she had saved on Kate's board money, so that she could have a \$500 account of her own in the San Francisco Savings Union.

Summary of 1879 balance:

Cash recd. from A. L. B. & Co. as per ledger	\$17,266.93	
Recd. from Kate K. B. for board (afterward cr. to H. H. B.)	150.00	\$17,416.93
<hr/>		
Family etc. etc. expenses as above	\$ 9,973.24	
Cr. to H. H. B. for K. K. B.'s board, money to C. K. K.	1,281.63	
Used for outside business matters	1,231.16	
Paid balance of loan on residence	5,000.00	\$17,486.03
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1880. January 1, balance as per ledger sheet: A. L. B., \$111,784.72; H. H. B., \$126,053.62. On January 26, A. L. B.'s weight in ordinary dress, 204 pounds. March 25, \$25 to pay Olympic Club debt. June, building expenses at Alberta Camp. October 25, with whole family and Kate on overland train for the east and Germany: sleeping-car fare (drawing room), \$80; R.R. tickets, \$415.20; meals on train, \$18. November 27, embarked on SS. *Necker*: tickets, \$240. December 9, left ship and arrived at Weimar on the tenth; found Melissa at Weimar.

*Since going to press, we have learned that there is an inventory—called "Account of Stock of A. L. Bancroft & Co., January 1, 1879"—in the Bancroft Library, a huge book of over 600 pages. The "recapitulation" on page 603 shows a total of \$283,752.74. Largest items, making up the "stock, etc on hand," are: office fixtures, \$15,565.50; Bancroft's publications, \$60,077.86; miscellaneous books, \$32,951.31; scientific, school, law, medical, and religious books, \$38,174.36; subscription books, \$14,480.71; stationery, \$59,126.05; goods in transit, consigned goods, etc., \$11,014.36; printing & lithographing department, \$50,743.46.

Summary of expenditures for 1880:

Cash drawn out, etc.

Rec'd. from A. L. B. & Co. as per ledger \$10,301.29

Rec'd. from other sources 1.90 \$10,303.19

Family expenses as above \$ 9,286.28

Ditto, spent in S. F. in December 1880,
but not entered by me until Jan. 1881 544.86

Cash on hand 12/31/1880 in excess of amt.
on hand one year ago 198.15 \$10,029.29

Also at end is a summary: family expenses at Alberta Camp, \$311.06; cost of Alberta Camp and Sara Lodge, \$1,766.25.

At end of this account book is a page headed, "1880 Apportionment and Classified Expenditures."

"Always procure a bill at the time when ordering anything or have it sent with the articles."

"Always pay all bills and settle up for everything each month."

"The entire amount must not exceed \$5,000 — not including A. L. B.'s trips into the country, etc., and the cost and expense of fixing up Alberta Camp and Sara Lodge."

Taxes for 1880: Lake County, \$11.48; Santa Cruz County, \$36.48; Roberts Island, \$24.48; S. F. residence, \$448.63.

[Mrs. Fry informs me that before leaving, Albert set aside \$10,000 for himself and the same amount for his wife to be spent in Europe as they pleased. She spent her money on laces and he spent his on carvings and paintings.]

1881. January 1, balance as per ledger sheet: A. L. B., \$101,934.43; H. H. B., \$112,300.40. January, at Weimar; draws against his letter of credit in London for seventy-two pounds a month. February, visits Berlin. March, back in Weimar; March 7, baby named Karl August was born. April, Weimar; \$281 pd. by A. L. B. & Co. on life insurance policy. May, at Weimar, Berlin and Leipzig; while in Leipzig he visited Baron Speck's collection; May 14, he attended the bookdealers' banquet; May 19, Dresden; May 30, back in Weimar. June, went to Basel, Zurich, Lake Constance, and Lucerne. July 17, on tour of Switzerland [with Melissa, her two daughters, Bert, Frank, and Miss Kate.] August 6, back to Weimar; August, Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, etc., touring Germany. September 10, back in Weimar and remained in Weimar through October. November 10, he and his wife start for Egypt via Italy; November 25, they arrived in Cairo and stopped at Shephard's Hotel. Here he bought many curiosities. December 14, went to Luxor; De-

cember 30, back in Cairo, where they bought some oriental rugs. A. L. B. & Co. paid another life insurance policy in S. F., \$345.98.

Summary of expenditures, \$9,195.80.

1882. January 1, balance as per ledger sheet: A. L. B., \$95,406.55; H. H. B., \$121,521.56. January 1, Cairo; January 10, Alexandria; January 16, Trieste; January 17, Vienna, where they saw Sara Bernhardt; January 27, back in Weimar. A. L. B. & Co. in S. F. paid in taxes: land in Mendocino County, \$6.86; land in San Joaquin County, \$19.50; S. F. residence, \$391.00. February 25, to Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Antwerp, alone. March 1, Brussels; March 5, Paris; March 25, Bordeaux, Biarritz, and San Sebastian; March 31, Madrid. April, toured Spain and Portugal; April 24, Gibraltar; April 25, Tangier; April 29, Cadiz; April 30, Seville. May 6, Paris, where he bought many books on the universal language; May 15, London, more books on the universal language.

[Of these travels, Albert hardly mentioned more than the names of the hotels where he stopped, but when he returned he said he had had three months of fun.]

May 31 [—evidently the first inventory, since 1879, was taken]. The ledger sheet for this date reads: Cr. by $\frac{1}{2}$ of net gain business, \$156,631.04. June 12, back in Weimar. July, toured Germany and visited Salzburg. August 4, back in Weimar—sent \$85 to Hon. H. Hamlin, Madrid, to pay for four portraits for a present for H. H. B. which were sent about July 5-12, 1882; August 23, Charles Edwin, son of Curtis, came to visit Albert in Weimar [he was manager of the music department of A. L. B. & Co. and thirty-one years old]; August 23, ordered passage to New York for himself for September 2. [The arrival of C. E. Bancroft and Albert's immediate departure for San Francisco may be significant.] September 1, paid or sent F. A. Brockhaus for books to date, 1,133 R.M.; September 2, to Bremen; September 3, sailed on SS. *Donau*. Paid 500 R.M. for ticket; September 5, stopped in Southampton; September 15, arrived in New York; bought some more books on language; September 23, left New York by train; on the way he stopped in Santa Fe. October 2, arrived in San Francisco and stayed at the Palace Hotel; October 13, purchased painting by [William] Keith—"Oak and Willows"—for \$250, and a sketch by the same artist, "Mt. Shasta," for \$21. November, took trips to the Santa Cruz Mountains and Vacaville. December, paid taxes on land, etc.: in Santa Cruz, \$39; Lake County, \$7; Sonoma County, \$10.15; San Francisco, \$369.62; San Francisco, \$100. Total expenses, \$16,335.22.

At the end of this book is a "List of presents made by A. L. Bancroft upon his return from Europe in October 1882 and an estimate of their cost."

To those in the business [omitting some of the smaller gifts]: *T. A. C. Dorland, diamond ring, \$92.50; *C. Bachman, drink horn, \$10.75; N. E.

Maison, ivory opera glass; Fred G. Peterson, topaz ring; *F. A. Colley, Winchester rifle, \$40; *E. C. Graff, intaglio pin; *H. R. Coleman, turquoise sleeve buttons; F. P. Pray, carbuncle pin; J. M. Page, monogrammed silver buttons; *F. P. Stone, diamond studs, \$159.50; R. C. Corbaley, cat's-eye silver buttons and studs; *T. C. Smith, clock, \$60; *F. Person, cat's-eye pin; R. D. Bristol, monogrammed silver buttons; *F. G. Sanborn, hunting glass; W. H. Keith, Jr., opera glass; C. W. Welch, turquoise ring; *Geo. L. Kenny, clover leaf pin; *Geo. W. Cooke, dull gold set; W. C. Hamilton, opaline pin, \$12; *H. P. Bancroft, Grauer gun and duties, \$180; C. E. Bancroft, watch, \$90; *W. B. Bancroft, pin, studs, etc.

[Those preceded by asterisks were heads of departments in the business when Albert left in 1880.]

To those not in the business: A. A. Bancroft, silk handkerchfs., cane, etc.; H. H. Bancroft, portraits, \$85; C. A. Bancroft, cane, \$7; Celia D. Kenny, brooch, \$41.25; Em. M. Palmer, clock, \$50. [And numerous presents to the Wardwells and many other relatives.]

At the end, Albert has a note: The costs of many of these items were in bills which were not itemized in this account book, as the cost or estimated cost could not be given here; but the total amount could not have been less than \$1,600 or \$1,800.

1883. January 1, cr. balance with A. L. B. & Co.: \$238,193.26 [also on ledger sheet as of December 16, 1882]. Increased the allowance to his wife in Weimar from \$800 to \$1,000. April 18, trip to Santa Clara. May, at Alberta Camp. June 5, sailed on SS. *State of California* for Portland, en route for N. Y. via Northern Pacific R.R.; June 26, between Deer Lodge and Helena the stage was fired upon by robbers; June 27, Boseman, back on sleeping car. July 4, arrived in New York; July 8, the family arrived on the SS. *Elbe*; July 9, took the family to Greenport, a resort near the east end of Long Island, and they remained there until August 1, when he visited Boston with his wife. They returned to Greenport on August 4. August 11, returned to New York with the family; August 12, left for San Francisco with the family; August 21, arrived in San Francisco. September 1 [H. H. B. in his *Literary Industries*, p. 700, says he set out for Mexico with his daughter Kate, leaving Albert in charge of the business. It is probable that Kate had returned from Europe with Albert's family]. October 3, much interested in spelling-reform society which he had joined shortly before; October 25, Mrs. Bancroft left for Los Angeles with Alberta. November 4, Albert went duck hunting with Bert and Kenny. December, purchased more spelling and language books; spent \$11,636.12 for household expenses for the year.

[Fräulein Gertrud Walter, a German governess, returned with the family, and Mlle. Louise Cretigny, a French governess, and Christine Stein were also members of the household. The children had to speak French, German, and Volapük, the universal language, at the three meals. Frl. Walter re-

mained a member of the household for seven years and Mlle. Cretigny later married W. B. Holliday, superintendent of Aloha Farm.]

1884. January 1, cr. balance with A. L. B. & Co.: \$230,390.22. April 10, Mrs. Bancroft went to San Diego. May 6, she returned to San Francisco. September 16, Tule Shooting Club, \$75 dues; September 27, trip to Antioch. October, routine expenses. November, roof repairs; November 2, trip to Antioch with E. C. Graff; November 10, trip to Antioch with F. A. Colley. December, several visits to Antioch. Total expenditures for year, \$9,798.90.

1885. January, Mrs. Bancroft goes to Monterey. March 25, Mrs. Bancroft to Monterey with Mollie Wardwell. March 29, carving of The Seven Ravens from Germany \$225, duty \$79.49, freight \$9.25. April, visited The Oaks several times. May 28, recorded deed to The Oaks to F. W. Bancroft. June, trips to Cloverdale with family. July, many purchases for camp; July 22, Bert's school bill, first half of 1885 at Litton Springs College, \$250.80; shaving things for Bert \$2.40. August 29, trips to Pilarcitos Lake with Frl. Gertrud Walter and the children, \$15.70. September 12, horses and carriage to take Liss and daughters to Cliff House; September 14, trip to Delta and State Fair with Mrs. Bancroft; September 15, Davisville; September 23, trip to McCloud and Upper Soda Springs; September 30, back to San Francisco. October 29, Frl. Walter services, \$20; ditto extra for 6 mos., \$30; October 30, school bill for Bert at Belmont High School, half year, \$325. November 25, California Historical Society memb. fee, \$2.50. December, Christmas presents for the Wardwell family, \$115. Summary for year: recd. from A.L.B. & Co. per ledger, \$12,629.21; less amt. not personal cr. The Oaks, \$2,500; total, \$10,129.21.

This ends the series of account books now extant, so far as is known. It is probable that Albert began one for 1886 which was either destroyed in the fire or else abandoned.

The last balance that we have for Albert was \$230,390.22 for January 1, 1884. During that year and in 1885 he seems to have spent a total of about \$20,000, which would have left him with a balance on January 1, 1886, approximately somewhere between \$200,000 and \$210,000. To this must be added his one-half share of the undivided profits since May 31, 1882, an amount which can hardly be determined but which might easily have reached \$50,000 or even \$60,000. His brother's balance had always been slightly larger and on January 1, 1886, it was probably \$50,000 more than Albert's and therefore Hubert's balance must have been about \$300,000 or together \$560,000 on January 1, 1886. From these amounts must be deducted the sums paid for the land purchased by the brothers in Ignacio Valley on January 1, 1885. However, the balance still seems greater than the estimated total loss by the fire, which was usually estimated at \$400,000.

There is practically no contemporary evidence about the business except the article, "A Cosmopolitan Publishing House," mentioned above, which

was published in *The Paper World*, Holyoke, Mass., on March 1, 1881; and an article in John S. Hittell's *Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America*, published by A. L. Bancroft & Co. in 1882. The article entitled "A Cosmopolitan Publishing House" bears a portrait of Albert and appears to have been written by someone connected with the house. It gives full credit to Hubert for his literary endeavors but assigns to Albert in forthright words the credit for the expansion of the business. As Albert had been actual as well as titular head of the business since 1870, and in fact from 1866, the credit accorded him in the article was only just. In my judgment this article was the cause of Hubert's resentment which finally flared up in 1886. *The Paper World* was either sent to Hubert by the publisher or shown to him by John S. Hittell. In 1881, Hittell showed H. H. Bancroft the manuscript of his book, published the next year, in which Hittell, according to Bancroft, expressed doubts about the success of the Bancroft "Works." In his book he quoted some of the figures given in *The Paper World* and was therefore familiar with it. To quote from "A Cosmopolitan Publishing House": "During the last fifteen years the house has published 165 volumes of law books . . . and carries a stock from \$20,000 to \$50,000 of law books. . . . The music department has a circulating library of over 100,000 pieces." Hittell, on page 646, says:

The San Francisco firm of A. L. Bancroft & Co., one of the leading book and stationery houses of the United States, have a business that amounts in the aggregate to \$1,000,000 a year. They receive 9,000 invoices from 700 different European and American manufacturers; they pay \$150,000 on freight, and \$200,000 on salaries and wages to 250 employees in the same period. Their wholesale department makes frequent shipments to 1,800 retailers in China, Japan, the Hawaiian Islands and on our coast. The letters pouring in number 400 a day.

This concludes the articles on some of the documents of Albert Little Bancroft, which were so generously presented to the California Historical Society by his daughter, Mrs. Donald H. Fry. The next to appear will be "The Card String of Events," compiled by Albert in 1908.

(To be continued)

Military Units in Southern California,

1853-1862¹

By J. M. SCAMMELL

BECAUSE of the dangers from disaffection at Los Angeles, Fort Mojave was abandoned on April 30, 1861, and the troops were removed nearer the center of disaffection.² Three days later, Major Carleton at Fort Tejon received orders to establish a camp near Los Angeles, and with Troop K, First Dragoons, and thirty-one camels he set out to take command of the combined troops—the two companies from Fort Mojave and his own Troop K which was withdrawing from Fort Tejon.³ Thereupon reports of Indian troubles began to pour in from the vicinity of Fort Tejon. Major Carleton sent Lieut. B. F. Davis to investigate. The latter reported thus: "The truth is that the people in the vicinity of Fort Tejon have lived so long on Government patronage that they now find it difficult to do without it, and they will use every means to have the troops restationed at that place."⁴

Major Carleton was soon the center of intrigues. He was attacked in the press. Some of the charges made against him will be understood better when we examine, below, the history of the southern California militia units. Low in funds, Carleton gave a contract for beef to an alleged secessionist, who bid three or more cents a pound lower than the "loyal" Union men, who, Carleton alleged, had sought to gain a monopoly of beef and forage in order to force up prices.⁵ But the most serious charge against Carleton was that he had let Albert Sidney Johnston, his escort armed with rifles which were the property of the United States, get away unmolested. Under the caption, "Is It True?" the Los Angeles correspondent of the *Alta California* vindicated Carleton's loyalty; the arms carried off were not the property of the United States, he said, but of the State of California. The correspondent said further that Carleton, being informed of this, notified Governor Downey who was at that time in Los Angeles.⁶ Among the archives⁷ of the secretary of state of California is the following letter:

Camp Fitzgerald, near Los Angeles,
Cal. June 18, 1861

To His Excellency John G. Downey, Governor of California,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Sir:

I have been informed, that it is probable a party of persons about to leave Los Angeles for Texas, intend to remove beyond the limits of California certain arms belonging to the State. I understand these arms include those recently issued to the *Los Angeles Mounted Rifles*, as well as some others. Bonds to shield the State of California from loss in case these arms are not produced when required by the State, have undoubtedly been given;

but in these times the question of *money security* is of little importance compared with that of the *possession* of the arms themselves; more particularly if any contingency should arise wherein they might be used against the Government of which California forms so important a part.

If these rumours have good foundation, and Your Excellency as Commander-in-Chief of the Militia of the State, have not in the vicinity a sufficient force to sustain the Civil Authorities in the matter, I will cheerfully, with my command, lend you all possible aid should it become necessary to protect, or to recover these arms by force. And even should the contingency arise that these arms shall be taken in spite of any precautions you may now inaugurate for their additional security, *if you will cause timely notice of the fact* to be communicated to me, pursuit shall be made by troops under my command for their recovery.

In the event of your Excellency having no *secure* place where they may be kept—if you request it, I will at once receive them in custody, and hold them subject to your order.—

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's obt servant, JAMES H. CARLETON.

Brevet Major U.S. Army, Comg.

[No reply has as yet been found.]

Records in the office of the adjutant general and in the archives of the secretary of state show that Major Carleton had ample cause to warn the governor. Southern California was a hotbed of secessionism. Only the presence of troops prevented active hostilities.

I. SANTA BARBARA MILITARY COMPANIES

On October 18, 1861, the county judge, the district attorney, the county clerk, and the sheriff of Santa Barbara County wrote a petition to (by this time) Colonel Carleton to send troops.⁸ Men were meeting by night to cheer Jefferson Davis, they said; there were only 300 Americans in a county whose population numbered 4000 and whose native California leaders sympathized with the South; they had a cannon and rifles of a former military company.

Of what arms were these county officials speaking? To answer this, it is necessary to go back to December 1853 when William W. Twist⁹ wrote to Governor Bigler to certify the election of officers of the SANTA BARBARA GUARD and to ask for arms:

To his Excellency John Bigler
Governor of the State of California

Santa Barbara Dec 5th 1853

Sir: I have the honor to inform your Excellency that an Independent Military Company has been organized in this County under the style of the Santa Barbara Guards. The company at present consists of Seventy four members being the complement of men necessary. They intend to use the Rifle and the object of the present communication is to request your Excellency to give the proper instructions to the Quarter Master General to furnish the Company with the requisite arms and equipments as soon as practicable. The Bond and security required by law to be given upon the reception of said Arms and equipments to be furnished also if possible 20 or 25 Carbines with Pistols and Sabres so as to act otherwise than on foot, will be transmitted to the Quarter Master

General upon an intimation from that Officer as to what the security is to consist of. I have the honor to remain

Your Excellency's Obedt Servant W. W. Twist Capt. S.B.G's
First Military Dist., State California

Hon. C. S. Fernald, county judge of Santa Barbara County, wrote to the governor at Benicia to warn him that the military company now applying to the state for arms was not a legally organized body.¹⁰ However, on the same day, Maj. Gen. J. M. Covarrubias,¹¹ who enjoyed great prestige, wrote in behalf of the company:

John Bigler Esq—Most Excellent Sir:

Santa Barbara Dec 5/53

You will confer upon me a personal favor by dispatching upon the receipt of the accompanying petition for arms for the company set forth in it, consisting of Rifles etc.

I have the interest of the company at heart and it has been getting itself up under my own observation.

They wish to have if possible send them twenty Carbines with Pistols and Sabres to act if necessary on horseback by paying attention to the same. I would remain your Excellencies Obedient Servant

J. M. COVARRUBIAS Major General . . .
Fourth division . . . State of California

P.S. The Company have for bondsmen as security for the arms a number of our most influential Citizens.

William W. Twist, as principal, J. M. Covarrubias, R. G. Glen, I. L. Smith, and Manuel A. Rodríguez de Pole,¹² as sureties, were jointly and severally bound unto the governor of the State of California, in the penal sum of \$2,500 lawful money of the United States, to keep the arms and accoutrements safely and to yield them up to the state upon demand. Meanwhile, on December 30, 1853, the adjutant general notified Twist that muskets would be sent in place of rifles. Sixty muskets and accoutrements were received on January 7, 1854, upon which day Judge Fernald notified the adjutant general that W. W. Twist had been elected captain of the SANTA BARBARA GUARDS.

It is not clear from the records what happened to this company. There is a record that Captain Twist, on November 28, 1854, sent by express, to the adjutant general and quartermaster general of California, the arms of his company, except one musket, loaned to Captain Carnes of the SANTA BARBARA MOUNTED RIFLEMEN. Twist appears to have resigned his commission as captain on September 21, 1854.

Meanwhile, the SANTA BARBARA MOUNTED RIFLEMEN had been formed, Henry Carnes commanding. Little information is available in the records of the secretary of state or in those of the adjutant general. The adjutant general at that time was Brig. Gen. William C. Kibbe, whose records under his long tenure of office got into such confusion that the legislature took a hand and in 1861 tried to unseat him. The press spoke of him in terms of disre-

spect.¹³ There is an invoice for 30 cavalry sabres and 16 percussion muskets, dated February 9, 1854, consigned to Captain Carnes. There is also a receipt signed by Carnes dated San Francisco, February 12, 1854. Carnes stated that Captain Wheeler of the LOS ANGELES GUARDS would, with the approval of General Kibbe, turn over to the SANTA BARBARA MOUNTED RIFLES the arms of his company which was going to disband. The short-lived volunteer company, called the LOS ANGELES GUARDS, had been formed in July 1853 (see below, under "Los Angeles Companies"), Capt. John O. Wheeler commanding, to which arms had been shipped December 9, 1853.

In September 1854, the adjutant general wrote to Captain Carnes:

HEAD QUARTERS CALIFORNIA MILITIA

Office Quartermaster and Adjutant General

Sacramento, September 7 . . . 1854

Sir: I have written to you on two occasions before this asking you whether the Rifles & accts issued to the Los Angeles Guards had been turned over to you by Capt Wheeler as per order

And requesting you to forward receipts . . .

I have had no reply . . .

Your obt serv WM C KIBBE

Qr Mr & Adj Gen Cal Mil

Capt Henry Carnes

Comdg Santa Barbara Mtd Riflemen

Silence from Captain Carnes; silence from John O. Wheeler. On September 11, 1856, General Kibbe ordered Captain Carnes to send all arms to San Francisco on the *Sea Bird* at the first opportunity and to forward an invoice with them. This was during the Vigilante activities. Did Carnes do so?

The next news of Captain Carnes comes in 1857.

Santa Barbara

Feb. 27 1857

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your official note Feb. 20 1857 a copy of which I transmitted to Captain Henry Carnes. I regret to say that to this date no answer has been received although I recommended Capt Carnes to appoint the day and place to deliver to me the arms of his company.

Very respectfully etc ANT. M. DE LA GUERRA¹⁴

To José M. Covarrubias

Ass. Adj. Gen. of the 1 division C. M.

Major General of the 1 Division Cal. M.

With the exception of an order on Henry Carnes for 40 rifles given to Twist and dated November 17, 1857 (to be mentioned later)—an order which Carnes failed to act upon—no record concerning him comes to light until August 9, 1861, when war was raging (Ft. Sumpter was fired on, Apr. 12, 1861):

Santa Barbara August 9th 1861

Brig: Genl: Kibbe (Adj: Genl: State of Cal.)

Sir: I had the honor to receive by the last mail from the North the Circular issued from the office of the Qr: Mr: and Adj: Genl of this State, containing a copy of "Sec 28 of an act in relation to the Militia of the State, approved May 9th 1861".

I am ordered by the circular to "conform to the provisions of the above section" (referred to) etc—

The company of mounted rifles of which I was Captain disbanded four or five years ago, and has not been reorganized since, and, in reality it has no existence at this present time, nor are the arms and equipments of said company now in my possession.

Some time after the disbandment of the company, I am unable to state the exact date, I received an official communication from Col. de la Guerra, Adj: Genl: of the 1st Division, requiring me to deliver to him the arms and equipments of the Santa Barbara Mounted Rifles in my possession, as Captain of the Company.

I had assumed that I was from that time relieved of all responsibility regarding the same, and that the bond executed by me had been cancelled, but by your circular of the 22d July 1861, I perceive that I am still considered at Head Quarters as the party liable.

I have read your circular to Col. de la Guerra and have conferred with him on the matter. He thinks that a misunderstanding exists at Head Quarters and informed me that the arms and equipments are now in his possession and have been so since I first delivered them to him as related above.

Under the circumstances I do not see how I can make any other reply to your circular of the 22d July ult. and I think that I can with propriety ask of you to cancel my bond now on file in your office.

I have the honor to remain

Your obedient servant HENRY CARNES

Where did the arms in Santa Barbara come from? As mentioned above, W. W. Twist said that he had returned all arms issued to the SANTA BARBARA GUARDS, except one musket loaned to Captain Carnes. The report of the adjutant general for 1861 (not by any means dependable) states that the SANTA BARBARA GUARDS (then no longer in existence) had 10 muskets: "original issue, 60; returned, 50." There is also the curious statement that the "Santa Barbara Guard, Mounted Riflemen" had 40 rifles, 16 muskets, and 30 cavalry sabres, "now in the hands of Sheriff S. Barbara." Why, if the sheriff had them in his custody, should he, together with the county judge, etc., have signed the petition dated October 18, 1861, cited above, stating that the arms were in the hands of sympathizers with the South?

As a result of the legislative inquiry into the records and methods of the office of the adjutant general (the committee wrote directly to all units of record for information), the Sacramento *Union* published on May 3, 1861, a list of units of the California militia and the arms in their possession. The SANTA BARBARA MOUNTED RIFLEMEN were credited with having 50 percussion rifles and 17 percussion muskets. There is no record of any cannon, the property of the state.

In his letter to the adjutant general dated August 9, 1861, (see above), Carnes stated that the MOUNTED RIFLEMEN had disbanded.

II. THE LOS ANGELES UNITS

Newmark states that in March 1857, William W. Twist formed the first rifle company in Los Angeles;¹⁵ but among the records in the archives of the adjutant general is a petition, dated over three and a half years earlier (July 23, 1853) and addressed to Gov. John Bigler (term, 1852-54; 1854-56), asking for arms, on the grounds that "the late disturbances, Robberies & thefts and the appalling fact that we live in the midst of an organized band of Vil-

lains of the most desperate character cannot be unknown to your Excellency."¹⁶ The petition was signed by John O. Wheeler, George Alexander,¹⁷ William Alexander, D. W. Alexander, K. H. Dimmick,¹⁸ A. Stearns,¹⁹ Juan Sepúlveda,²⁰ Tomás Sánchez,²¹ S. K. Labatt,²² and A. F. Coronel.²³ There is also evidence that arms—viz., 50 percussion muskets—were issued to Captain Wheeler for a company called the LOS ANGELES GUARDS, in December 1853;²⁴ it had a short life and was succeeded in 1855 by the CITY GUARD.²⁵ Further evidence (though extremely brief) of two other pre-1857 companies is to the effect that arms "issued to 'Los Angeles Rangers' Capt. A. W. Hope, were turned over to the sheriff of this County in 1854"; and in March, 1854, the MONTE RANGERS were organized, with John H. Hughes, John G. Downey (afterwards governor) and W. B. Sanford as bondsmen for arms. On their muster roll appears the name of A. J. King. He reappears in 1861 as organizer of another Monte company, which will be discussed toward the end of this section.

Organizer of the CITY GUARD in 1855 was William W. Twist; in it were Phineas Banning²⁶ and George Whitman.²⁷ Twist was captain; John O. Wheeler, first lieutenant; Edward C. Hall and David C. Porter second lieutenants. Governor Bigler ordered the adjutant general to issue 60 muskets to the organization which was done in February 1855.²⁸ On June 7, 1855, Twist asked for a field piece.²⁹ A bond for \$3000 for the safe return of the arms to the state was signed by Twist, Wheeler, and J. R. Barton.³⁰

In the file of the LOS ANGELES CITY GUARDS, adjutant general's archives, is a record of a bond for \$1000 executed by B. D. Wilson, Edward Hunter, and J. L. Brent³¹ as security for arms issued "for the use of the Citizens of Los Angeles County," and a receipt for 60 muskets for the use of the CITY GUARD, Los Angeles, dated January 6, 1856, and signed by W. W. Twist, captain. (It might be added here, parenthetically, that in a letter to the adjutant general dated February 18, 1862, Gen. Andrés Pico says: "The issue of Arms etc. to City Guard, Los Angeles, Captain Twist, in 1856, I am sorry to say are no where to be found.") On February 11, 1856, the CITY GUARD accepted the resignation of Twist and William Moore was elected in his stead.

On April 2, 1857, we find Twist reporting that the SOUTHERN RIFLES had been organized on March 26, 1857, and an undated statement, signed by Twist, is to the effect that 39 rifles and 23 pistols had been turned over to him by Judge Dryden.³² "Jovial old Judge Dryden" had appointed Twist to "open a book," in which to inscribe the names of volunteers for a military company. The date of this order cannot be given—it has been cut out of the document. On April 9, 1857, Twist, J. Mullally, and H. M. McLoughlin signed a bond for arms in the sum of \$3000. On April 24, 1857, Twist asked for 40 more rifles.

The arms, and the no less important commissions for the officers (at \$5.00

each), were slow in coming. Captain Twist was much mortified by the delay. "The lieutenants," he wrote to the adjutant general, "laying their heads together, came to the conclusion that I was not trying to get their commissions down, and that I was lax in my exertions." A meeting was called, at which the members (quite illegally) voted Captain Twist out of the company, and published their resolutions in the *Los Angeles Star*. On August 8, 1857, J. W. Hamilton, the editor of the *Star*, wrote a confidential letter to the adjutant general to inquire if anything was wrong with Twist: the men had grown suspicious because the arms and commissions had not come, and "his answers on these points are unsatisfactory." However, the commissions *did* arrive. The company met, with Kimball H. Dimmick as chairman pro tem., and decided that Captain Twist could not be unseated without a court martial. Then the members gave him a vote of confidence.

The adjutant general now tried to get for Twist's SOUTHERN RIFLES the arms supposed to be in the possession of Captain Henry Carnes, of the SANTA BARBARA MOUNTED RIFLES. He wrote as follows to Twist:

Off. Qr Mr & Adj Genl Cal
Sacramento Nov. 17, 1857

Sir: I forward an order enclosed upon Captn Henry Carnes Santa Barbara for 40 Rifles & Accts. 16 Muskets and 30 Sabres which you will please present and inform me at once of the amt. of military property received from him.

It will be well for you if Convenient to present the order in person upon Capt Carnes, or his Bondsman who are as follows, viz—

C. R. V. Lee Valentine W. Hemme T. S. Martin J. Carrillo T. Gaucheron
Your obt Serv

WM C KIBBE Qr Mr n Adj Genl

(Indorsement)

The above forwarded as per order to Capt Carnes he not acting upon same Truly
yours W. W. Twist Capt Comdg S.B's

Christmas of 1857 was approaching when Captain Twist wrote to the adjutant general that all he had had from Captain Carnes was more silence. Finally, on February 23, 1858, a bond for \$2500 was signed by Manuel Coronel, F. H. Alexander, Agustín Olvera, James Thompson,³³ and J. C. Webb; and on June 30, 1858, the arms for the SOUTHERN RIFLES arrived from the adjutant general.

The next record relating to the SOUTHERN RIFLES is a report of an election held on April 3, 1861, at which William Moore, acting-lieutenant and commanding the company, presided; John O. Wheeler and Columbus Sims acted as secretaries.³⁴ As a result of the election, S. H. Wilson was made captain, *vice* W. W. Twist, resigned and removed from the state; William Moore became first lieutenant.

In August 1861, the first call for volunteers from California included one regiment of infantry of ten companies, and one battalion of cavalry of five companies. The First Infantry, California Volunteers, was assembled at Camp Downey, near the present Lake Merritt in Oakland. This regiment

consisted of nine companies. The GIBSONVILLE BLUES had been designated by Governor Downey to form the tenth company; but they failed to appear (many of the BLUES had enlisted in the SIERRA GRAYS of La Porte). Colonel Carleton telegraphed the governor: "Send the Gibsonville Blues sure. I am afraid Van Gulden who has failed twice will fail again no time to lose."

Lieutenant Moore of the SOUTHERN RIFLES now comes into the picture. He offered to raise the tenth company, and was commissioned to do so by the governor on October 1, 1861. Having failed to recruit a sufficient number, his commission was revoked.³⁵ Colonel Carleton asked for authority to appoint someone else; Lieut. Edward B. Willis, of Company A, who had recruited the Oroville part of his company, was selected. The new company was recruited in San Francisco. Colonel Carleton did not want a Los Angeles company, because the regiment was under orders to go to southern California, and members of a Los Angeles unit would naturally want passes to visit friends and relatives: they must either be favored and cause jealousy, or feel themselves abused. From the above, it will be apparent why the SOUTHERN RIFLES did not form a part of the column from California.

In a letter dated February 18, 1862, to the adjutant general, General Pico stated that he had in his possession 8 sabres issued to the SOUTHERN RIFLES. However, he could obtain no information about "the 20 Percussion rifles sent to Hon. Wm. G. Dryden, County Judge, Los Angeles, in 1857."

To illustrate how difficult it is to trace the fortunes of the various military units in the transactions of the adjutant general's office in those days—in his report for 1861, General Kibbe has a list of arms (60 rifles, 60 sabres, 23 dragoon pistols, and one brass six-pounder gun),³⁶ headed "Southern Rifles," and, below, the name "Lanceros de Los Angeles." It is a requisition for arms signed by Juan Sepúlveda as captain of the "California Lancers." The LANCEROS DE LOS ANGELES, or the "California Lancers," had nothing whatever to do with the SOUTHERN RIFLES.

As to the LANCEROS DE LOS ANGELES, an election of officers took place on May 12, 1857: Juan Sepúlveda was made captain and Ramón Carrillo first lieutenant.³⁷ Others elected were Gerónimo Ybarra and Mariano Alvarado, second lieutenants; Luis G. Bauchet, Justo Domínguez, Antonio Rocha, and Hilario Ybarra, sergeants; Rafael L. Bauchet, Francisco Sánchez, Francisco Alvarado y Ruiz, and José D. Falamante, corporals. Some five years later (Feb. 18, 1862), Gen. Andrés Pico wrote to the adjutant general that the 60 sabres and accoutrements issued to the LANCEROS DE LOS ANGELES, Captain Juan Sepúlveda, were, as of that date, deficient, "as the company has not turned out for muster or parade for more than two years." General Pico had ordered the arms of this company returned to the state; he had in his possession, however, not 60, but only 49, sabres and other accoutrements.

Another military unit was the UNION GUARDS. Phineas Banning's name appears on its muster roll (December 1857) as captain,³⁸ with Solomon

Lazard³⁹ as first lieutenant, Henry King and James H. Easton as second and third lieutenants;⁴⁰ Henry N. Alexander was a private.⁴¹ Gen. Andrés Pico examined the proceedings of the organization of the UNION GUARDS, and in March 1858 (day not given) he wrote to Gov. John B. Weller (term, 1858-60), saying that he had approved them. But the members needed arms:

Los Angeles Aug. 15th 1858

General: I have the honor to inform you that my company the Union Guards is entirely destitute of arms, and if not provided soon, it will be impossible for me to keep them together.

Your attention to this will greatly oblige

Your obt servant

To Brig Gen A Pico

PHINEAS BANNING Capt U G Cal S Mil

Los Ang Cal

An authenticated copy⁴² of the above was transmitted by General Pico on August 24, 1858, to the adjutant general, with a letter strongly endorsing Banning's plea.

Early in this paper, a transcript was introduced of Bvt. Maj. James H. Carleton's letter of June 18, 1861, to Governor Downey, in which reference was made to the LOS ANGELES MOUNTED RIFLES. Among the names on the muster roll of the company were former members of the CITY GUARD: F. H. Alexander, Robert A. Hester, J. C. Welsh, and A. J. Spencer.⁴³ Its organization dates from February 25, 1861, when George W. Gift⁴⁴—whose name, some three weeks earlier (Feb. 1, 1861), appeared as a private on the muster roll of the LOS ANGELES GREYS⁴⁵—announced the opening of a book to enroll members for a volunteer company. This was in response to a petition to Judge Dryden, signed by Gift, A. [Alonzo] Ridley, M. J. Newmark, J. A. Sánchez, Francisco Martínez, J. L. Brent, A. J. Henderson, and Joseph Huber. The book was opened, men were enrolled, and a meeting to organize was set for Thursday, March 7, 1861, at 7 P.M., at the court house in Los Angeles. The notice was signed by Gift, who acted as chairman of the meeting. Ridley was elected captain, Joseph W. Cattick first lieutenant, Tomás Sánchez second lieutenant, and James Ayres brevet second lieutenant. The sergeants were Robert A. Hester, Pedro Antonio Avila, F. M. Carpenter, and Joseph N. Chandler. Gift was a private, along with Felipe Sánchez, Guadalupe Sánchez, and José Antonio Sánchez.

Captain Ridley proceeded on March 9, 1861, to requisition 80 rifles and equipments, 80 sabres, and 80 Colt's six-shooting pistols. He wrote to the adjutant general: "I mentioned to his Excellency the fact that there are on storage with Banning and Hinchman in this city, 40 rifles and equipments, consigned to Geo. N. Whitman⁴⁶ and intended for a Company in San Bernardino Co.," which arms had not been applied for. He asked that they be given to the LOS ANGELES MOUNTED RIFLES. Ridley was well informed regarding the status of arms in the neighborhood. Two companies previously

in Los Angeles had sabres, he said. "I have no doubt these Companies have failed to make necessary returns . . . and therefore at this time have no legal existence—80 sabres & equipments are now in possession of William Moore in this city, and 60 sabres & equipments are now in custody of Juan Sepulbeda." Captain Ridley asked that this rather tidy little arsenal be transferred to his company, the LOS ANGELES MOUNTED RIFLES.

Pursuing this subject, Ridley wrote to the governor on April 3, 1861 (the same day that the SOUTHERN RIFLES elected William Moore first lieutenant of their company):

Los Angeles, April 3d 1861

To his Excellency, John G. Downey, Governor of California etc.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of 25 Mar. ulto, enclosing order upon Mssrs. Banning & Hinchman for arms, which order has been presented and duly honored.

You mention that there was also inclosed an order upon Capt Moore for sabres, but as the same did not come I suppose it was mislaid in sealing the letter.—I therefore respectfully request that another may be sent, which shall include the rifles of Moores Company as well as the sabres.

I have good reason to believe that most of the rifles and some twenty of the sabres have been lost, and that all are unfit for service at this time. Should I get them I propose to have them cleaned and repaired after which a faithful account will be rendered to the Adjutant General, and thereafter every arm in my possession will be kept ready for use at a moment's notice.

It is a well known fact here that the Company of Captain Moore has not paraded within the past three years, and I presume that the records of the Adjutant Generals office will show that no returns have ever been made as required by law. As I before mentioned it is notorious that the arms have been scattered and lost, to a great extent, and those that remain are out of order, dirty, rusty and neglected—stored away in some cellar. It would seem to me that the arms of the State are intended for the use of organized companies of active members, ready and willing to do duty, and are not to be distributed to individuals to be lost sold and deposited at pawnbrokers shops.

I should have premised the foregoing by saying that Captain Moore has not yet decided to turn over the arms as mentioned in Your Excellency's letter, but says he will see three or four members of his Company and find out whether it is disbanded or no. If this Company is not disbanded I would like to know what constitutes a disbandment. Whether or no a failure to parade, make the lawful returns, and the loss or disposition of nearly all the rifles and a part of the sabres, and a total neglect of the whole is sufficient?

Eleven of the rifles are now at the County Jail and upon inspection I found them all out of repair & was compelled to pay \$26 to have them cleaned and replaced in good condition.

I would further remark as regards the Moore matter that I consider myself fully as competent to be entrusted with the custody of arms as is Mr. Moore. I have a safe and commodious armory wherein to deposit them, he has none, but has them hid somewhere.

In conclusion I would add that there would seem to be little or no encouragement or inducement held out for the organizing and disciplining Volunteer Companies, when a whole company is deprived of arms in order to permit Capt Moore to have for his personal use (for he has no company) sixty sabres. However I assure your Excellency that this is intended in no spirit of ill-will towards yourself, but on the contrary, the "Los Angeles Mounted Rifles" desire me to return their sincere thanks for the promptitude

with which our requisition was replied to. Trusting that you will reply to this communication—concerning the points herein taken, at your earliest convenience, I have the honor to be

Very Respectfully your obt servt.

ALONZO RIDLEY Capt Los Angeles Mounted Rifles

Did Ridley have anything definite in mind when he said, "every arm in my possession will be kept ready for use at a moment's notice"?

Headquarters, department of the Pacific, was notified on May 4, 1861, by the assistant quartermaster of U.S. troops at Los Angeles that a bronze field piece, the property of the State of California, was there and was likely to fall into the hands of the dissident faction. Some two and a half months later (July 27, 1861), Edwin A. Sherman⁴⁷ of San Bernardino wrote to Colonel Carleton that Mayor Marchessault of Los Angeles and Captain Ridley were recruiting for the Confederate army; and on the following August 13, Capt. John W. Davidson, First U.S. Dragoons, reported that a field gun, the property of the state, was at Los Angeles in the hands of Tomás Sánchez, a noted secessionist⁴⁸—could not General Sumner ask the government for it?

Was this the gun, one wonders, that W. W. Twist, then captain of the CITY GUARD, had asked for, on June 7, 1855, as mentioned above? Why was it in the hands of Tomás Sánchez?

Ridley's purposes, veiled in his letter transcribed above, stand revealed in General Pico's letter of February 18, 1862, to the adjutant general. He states there that the arms, etc., issued to the SOUTHERN RIFLES, Captain Twist, in 1858, were partly distributed (that is, the rifles) to the citizens of the county, during the turbulent days in the latter part of that year, by William Moore, lieutenant in command at the time, together with the sabres issued to the company. General Pico then went on to say that he had been unable to get from Moore a list of arms or a list of the persons to whom they were issued. Twenty-five of the 60 rifles issued to Twist for the SOUTHERN RIFLES were deposited, Pico said, with the sheriff, Tomás Sánchez, and were kept in the jail, whence they were carried off to Texas by Ridley who, as under-sheriff, had access to the arms "until his departure." A later letter (dated March 17, 1862) was written to the adjutant general by Pico's A.A.G., W. P. Reynolds. Reynolds stated that the arms issued to the SOUTHERN RIFLES, including the 6-pounder gun (but presumably *minus* the 25 rifles "carried off to Texas," as Pico's letter said), were shipped in November 1861 to San Quentin in response to a telegraphic order from Governor Downey.

Aftermath of the Ridley episode is contained in a letter dated June 16, 1862, from Kibbe to Gov. Leland Stanford (term, 1862-63), in which the adjutant general requested that the papers relating to the organization of the LOS ANGELES MOUNTED RIFLES, Captain Ridley, be sent to his office. Kibbe stated that Downey had the bond for the rifles which Ridley carried off to Texas, but that while Downey was governor, he, Kibbe, had been unable to get it from him in order to collect the penalty from the bondsmen.

Captain Ridley, it will be remembered, was a member of the escort that accompanied Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston (in command of the department of the Pacific, Jan. 14–Apr. 9, 1861) to Texas, after his resignation and replacement by Gen. Edwin V. Sumner. Ridley's name appears as a field officer in the Third Cavalry, Arizona brigade, in the official Confederate lists.⁴⁹ George W. Gift, mentioned above as one of the organizers of Ridley's company, the LOS ANGELES MOUNTED RIFLES, became a major in the Arizona brigade.⁵⁰ Second lieutenant Tomás Sánchez did not go to the war (even though Captain Davidson reported that he had a cannon); but this was not because Sánchez was not a brave man. It may have been because he was an astute business man: it was he, Sheriff Tomás Sánchez, who sold forage to Carleton's troops, as mentioned above, at half the price demanded by three parties, all proclaiming Union sentiments and at each other's throats in Los Angeles in an attempt to corner the hay market.⁵¹

At the commencement of Section II of this paper, mention was made of the MONTE RANGERS as one of the pre-1857 military units. A member of this early company, A. J. King, was one of a group who, on March 7, 1861, petitioned that the MONTE MOUNTED RIFLES be formed. James McManus was appointed by Judge Dryden to open a book. The company was organized at the Monte Exchange on Saturday, March 23.⁵² On April 26, 1861, the company asked Governor Downey for arms.⁵³ In his article on "Southern California in Civil War Days," Percival J. Cooney relates that a military company was formed at El Monte and asked the governor for arms, believing that he was secretly in favor of the South; the governor sent the arms, but army officers at San Pedro held them up.⁵⁴

It is probable that the A. J. King of the MONTE RANGERS and of the MONTE MOUNTED RIFLES was the same A. J. King, under-sheriff of Los Angeles County, whom the U.S. marshal for the southern district of California, Henry D. Barrows, arrested.⁵⁵ According to the *Sacramento Union* of April 30, 1861, King, public official and former member of the state legislature, paraded the streets carrying a portrait of the Confederate general, Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. He was arrested and brought before Colonel Carleton, who made him take an oath of allegiance to the Union and thereupon released him.

Not all the militia companies of southern California were of doubtful loyalty; but, on the whole, the ones of dubious loyalty appear to have flourished more. The LOS ANGELES GREYS, whose captain was H. N. Alexander, were reputed to be loyal men. The company grew during the rains of spring and the sunshine of summer, but by winter it had faded away. On March 19, 1861, Governor Downey ordered N. Green Curtis, then acting adjutant general, to issue 60 muskets and equipments to the LOS ANGELES GREYS. General Curtis ordered the state armorer to have these arms shipped forthwith. On March 21, 1861, Captain Alexander sent to the governor his bond

for \$1,500, saying, "I pledge myself should the time ever arise when the Los Angeles Greys are needed to execute the laws of this, or the United States, that they will do honor to the arms which they carry."⁵⁶ However, in his annual report for 1861, the adjutant general had this to say: "Captain Alexander has . . . been remiss in conforming to the provisions of the twenty-eighth section of the law of May 9th, 1861, although officially directed to do so by me on the 19th July last."

This section of the law provided that a bond for the safekeeping of arms must be executed within 90 days of the passage of the act, or the arms be returned. Captain Alexander resigned his commission on December 1, 1861, on the ground that his company would not attend meetings.⁵⁷

Further study of the files reveals that in his letter to the adjutant general of February 18, 1862, Pico stated that the "arms etc. issued to 'Los Angeles Greys' Capt. H. N. Alexander, are now in my possession in compliance with your orders dated December 17, 1861." The matter did not rest there, however. On April 4, 1862, the adjutant general wrote to Pico direct—not to Pico's A.A.G., William G. Reynolds, as the governor had done on February 26 (to Pico's annoyance)—saying, "You will collect and transmit to my address (San Francisco) forthwith the arms and accoutrements issued to the Los Angeles Greys. . . ." (This was written by a secretary; but, in blacker ink in Kibbe's hand, were inserted the words, "By order of the Commander in Chief.") Kibbe, in a letter to Governor Stanford dated May 30, 1862, cites his order to Pico of April 4, and informs the governor that: "No response has been received to this order and I presume no action in regard to it—many of the arms issued by Gov. Downey and by this Department under his orders I am informed have been stolen by Secessionists and carried into New Mexico, and are now in the hands of Rebel Troops, and I feel that more may be carried in the same direction if prompt action is not immediately taken to secure them." (This was, of course, more than a year after the arms had been stolen.)

On the same day, May 30, 1862, that he wrote to the governor, General Kibbe ordered Brig. Gen. Romualdo Pacheco (then commanding the First Brigade at San Luis Obispo) to take possession forthwith of the state arms issued to the various companies in Los Angeles County, excepting those companies "composed of men of undoubted loyalty and patriotism—whether in the hands of Companies Civil officers or Citizens of Los Angeles County, and forward them to my address without delay." Among the arms returned on August 16, 1862, were 60 rifled muskets with bayonets, of the LOS ANGELES GREYS. Much of the other equipment was missing.

The question of California arms in the hands of the citizens of Los Angeles was also the subject of correspondence between Col. Ferris Forman of the Fourth Infantry and state officials. On September 18, 1862, Colonel Forman wrote Governor Stanford offering to collect these arms and hold them sub-

ject to orders. On September 20, he received authority to do so from the adjutant general; Forman was asked to report the number found. Two months later (Dec. 24, 1862), the adjutant wrote Forman asking him what progress had been made.

Capt. John W. Davidson, First U. S. Dragoons, on August 10, 1861, proposed to headquarters, department of the Pacific, that Abel Stearns and other prominent men of Los Angeles and vicinity form a home guard.⁵⁸ Three days later Davidson reported that 100, including Abel Stearns, Ralph Emerson, K. H. Dimmick, U. S. attorney southern California district, and Henry D. Barrows, U. S. marshal for that district, had enrolled. The department of the Pacific on August 19 sent 150 muskets and 6,000 rounds of ammunition to this company. Stearns and Dimmick will be remembered as members of a group petitioning Governor Bigler for arms on July 23, 1853.

III. SAN BERNARDINO UNITS

Capt. Andrew Lytle in 1853 organized a volunteer company in San Bernardino to punish the hostile Indians of San Gorgonio Pass.⁵⁹ Lytle, as principal, and William S. Warren and Marcus L. Shepperd signed a bond for \$2,000 for arms on April 28, 1854.⁶⁰ An undated requisition for arms appears to have been filed without action. On October 1, 1856, another bond was executed, by Robert Clift and two others—Emerson and Levick—in the same sum.⁶¹ There were delays in receiving commissions. On August 3, 1861, Lytle informed the adjutant general that the "San Bernardino Light Dragoons" had disbanded in the winter of 1857-58, "no arms, equipments or military stores ever received." However, Captain Lytle had heard a rumor that they were in Los Angeles.

Next came the SAN BERNARDINO MOUNTED RANGERS. This company was organized at a meeting on March 29, 1859, and George N. Whitman elected captain. On August 15, 1859, Captain Whitman sent forward a bond for arms and submitted a requisition. He complained on December 15 that he had received no reply since then. The adjutant general replied on December 29 that he had been out of town engaged in the field, and that his business had been totally neglected. He said that he would send 50 rifles by the next steamer—probably. The arms appear to have been shipped, but not received. There is an undated receipt for three cases of arms "marked Capt Geo Whitman San Bernardino which we agree to ship to the port of San Pedro"; it was signed in pencil, "Mitchell."

The county officials and the Jewish merchants of San Bernardino County petitioned Carleton on August 1, 1861, for protection against a band of 50 desperadoes intent upon looting the community and escaping to the Confederate States. Carleton urged them to form a *posse comitatus* (*comitatus*, Latin for county), and to send to him for further help if needed.⁶² The Union Club of San Bernardino became concerned about a company of cav-

alry being organized by Mormons who purported to be Union men, but who were of doubtful loyalty. This company, said the club members, was commanded by C. E. Bennett, late lieutenant, U.S. army in Utah, who had resigned and married the daughter of a high Mormon official. They protested against the issue of arms to this company.⁶³

It might be mentioned here that there is a letter, dated February 9, 1858, from Captain Twist to the adjutant general, asking if Brigham Young had issued any more belligerent proclamations, and saying that if volunteers were needed, he (Twist) could raise 500 on short notice. When taken in connection with three other letters offering to raise volunteer companies for an expedition against the Mormons, this is interesting, because the Mormons believed that an expedition from California was to come against them. Rumor of this, together with Albert Sidney Johnston's expedition, may have laid a psychological background for the Mountain Meadows massacre.⁶⁴

As a matter of fact Clarence E. Bennett⁶⁵ was engaged in organizing the SAN BERNARDINO RANGERS; and he was also occupied in keeping General Sumner and Colonel Carleton informed of treasonable activities in his neighborhood. During the war, he commanded the First Cavalry, California Volunteers, and afterwards returned to service in the regular army until 1867. Two companies of troops were needed at San Bernardino, he told Carleton. Carleton had been to San Bernardino himself to look into the truth of the situation. "I think in a little while," Bennett said, "life will be unsafe here . . . if troops do not come here this town will be in the hands of secessionists." Two companies of dragoons were sent there on August 6, 1861.⁶⁶

The SAN BERNARDINO RANGERS were formally organized on October 10, 1861, Clarence E. Bennett commanding, with George S. Whitman as first lieutenant. Governor Downey ordered 40 stand of arms for the unit.⁶⁷ Captain Bennett resigned as captain on April 1, 1862, and on February 9, 1863, was appointed major, First Cavalry, C.V.

The formation of loyal militia companies and the arrival from the north of the California Volunteers checked secessionism in southern California. Two companies of volunteers were sent to Santa Barbara, and Company C of the Fourth Infantry went to Catalina Island to stop a "gold rush" there, supposed to have been a ruse to establish a base for Confederate privateers.⁶⁸ Company C, First Battalion Native Cavalry, Antonio María de la Guerra commanding, was raised in Santa Barbara; Company D, José Antonio Sánchez commanding, in Los Angeles.

NOTES

1. This paper has been compiled principally from materials in the archives of the adjutant general and secretary of state of California. It is not intended as an exhaustive study but was written in the hope of eliciting further information, especially from local

sources, on the military companies and their members. As will be seen, the biographical facts, given here, cover only a minor portion of the personnel of the companies.

2. *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1897), Ser. 1, L, Pt. 1, 473-74.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 475-76; also A. A. Gray, "Camels in California," this *QUARTERLY*, IX (1930), 299-317; and Helen S. Giffen & Arthur Woodward, *The Story of El Tejon* (Los Angeles, 1942), *passim*.

4. *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 542-43.

5. *Sacramento Weekly Union* (hereinafter called *Sac. Union*), April 30, 1862; *Alta California*, May 14, 1862.

6. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1862; *Sac. Union*, May 17, 1862.

7. Archives of the secretary of state of California, File 1195 (hereinafter called *S.S. Archives*, as the documents in these archives, to which reference is made below, are all in this file). For affirmation of the integrity of James H. Carleton, a native of Maine and a West Pointer, see *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 600-601.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 664.

9. Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger* (Los Angeles, 1881; and Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbard, 1927; references are to the latter edition), pp. 46-47, 296; and Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (New York, 1926), p. 147, give information on W. W. Twist. Recent mention of his part in delaying the execution of the Indian, Domingo, at Santa Barbara in 1853, occurs in an article by William H. Ellison, "Huse's Diary," in *Santa Barbara News-Press*, Aug. 20, 1950.

10. The correspondence, referred to here, is in the archives of the adjutant general (hereinafter cited as *A.G. Archives*). Unless otherwise noted, the documents referred to are filed under the names of the separate military units.

11. José María Covarrubias was a native of France and a naturalized citizen of Mexico, who came to California in 1834 with the intention of becoming a teacher. A sketch of his life is given in H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1886-90 (hereinafter called *California*), II, 770, including his services as a member of the constitutional convention of 1849, and of the state legislature, etc. See also Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.; and W. J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), p. 617.

12. No information on these three men is at hand.

13. General Kibbe, an appointee of Gov. John McDougal, took office as adjutant general on May 2, 1852, and in 1854 was elected to the office by the legislature. The opposition he encountered is related in *Sac. Union*, May 3 and 14, 1861. Gov. Leland Stanford continued Kibbe in office but not Gov. Frederick F. Low. See article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of Jan. 25, 1904, at time of General Kibbe's death (Jan. 24).

Henry S. Carnes was a lieutenant in Stevenson's regiment, the New York Volunteers (1847). His subsequent career is outlined in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 742; and Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 613. In 1879, he was postmaster at Santa Barbara.

14. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 768, speaks of Antonio María de la Guerra as "one of the ablest of the family." The following items are of interest: (1) On Nov. 12, 1861, Maj. Gen. Covarrubias appointed de la Guerra his asst. adj. gen., on staff of 1st div.; at the same time Covarrubias appointed J. M. Sepúlveda of Los Angeles as aide-de-camp (*A.G. Archives*, misc. letters); (2) Gen. Kibbe, in letter to Gov. Low, Feb. 4, 1864, said he had been informed that de la Guerra was a secessionist (*ibid.*, letters and sp. orders, dept. Pacific, 1860-66); (3) A short time later (May 1864), de la Guerra raised Company C, 1st battalion, native cavalry, quartering them over two mos. at his own expense (*ibid.*); (4) Capt. W. G. Morris to Gen. G. S. Evans, adj. gen. at Sacramento, dated San Fran-

cisco, May 7, 1864, refers to A. M. de la Guerra as "brother of Don Pablo recently elected district Judge in the First Judicial District of this State on the Union ticket" (*ibid.*; photostat in files of Calif. Hist. Soc.); (5) May 27, 1864, W. G. Still wrote to Gov. Low saying that a clique at Santa Barbara, who were opposed to Pablo de la Guerra for county judge, were trying to prevent Company C from being received into federal service (S.S. *Archives*); (6) Gen. George Wright, in command dept. Pacific, wrote to Gov. Low, asking if the state could not reimburse A. M. de la Guerra for the expense he had incurred in raising Company C (*ibid.*). R. H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion* (Sacramento, 1890), pp. 305, 306, 315, gives tabular records of Company C, and correspondence (Adj. Gen. G. S. Evans to Gen. George Wright, June 2, 1864) at its organization.

15. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

16. See H. H. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (San Francisco, 1887), I, 493 ff., for crime conditions in southern California in the 1850's. Cf. note 24 below.

17. For information on George Alexander, see H. D. Barrows, "Don David Alexander," *Publs.*, Hist. Soc. So. Calif., IV (1897-99), 43-45. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 102, calls George Alexander "worthy brother" of David. Bell says (pp. 100, 258, 484) that John O. Wheeler was an associate editor of the *Southern Californian*, and clerk of the Los Angeles branch, Supreme Court of California. In 1861, according to the report of the adj. general for that year, Wheeler was inspector, 1st brigade, California militia, with rank of major.

18. Kimball H. Dimmick, a lawyer, came to California as captain, New York Volunteers (1847). He was alcalde of San Jose in 1849, and member of the constitutional convention. Subsequently, he was district attorney of Los Angeles; he also served as county judge. (Bancroft, *California*, II, 781.) See also Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 619. His name appears on the muster roll of the RINGGOLD LIGHT ARTILLERY (n.d., 1855?), as well as on that of the SOUTHERN RIFLES (*A.G. Archives*).

19. Abel Stearns, a native of Massachusetts, arrived in California in 1829, settled in Los Angeles in 1833 as a trader, and became one of the city's (and the state's) prominent citizens. In 1871, the year of his death, his estate was characterized as immense, in spite of reverses. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 732-33; and J. S. McGroarty, *California of the South* (Chicago and Los Angeles, 1933), I, 171-72.

Stearns, together with John G. Downey and Harris Newmark, were members of Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, Order of Masons, as were also Phineas Banning, H. D. Barrows, James R. Barton, J. L. Brent, William Dryden, Myron Norton and B. D. Wilson—all of whose names appear in the present paper. (See J. Gregg Layne, "Annals of Los Angeles," this *QUARTERLY*, XIII (Dec. 1934), 335-36.)

20. Between 1845 and 1858, Juan Sepúlveda was successively alcalde, supervisor, and county assessor of Los Angeles. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 716). See also note 14 above.

21. Tomás Sánchez appears in the records as having been at Los Coyotes rancho, Los Angeles, in 1839, at which time he was thirty-seven. In 1843, he was collector of taxes at Los Angeles; receipts, \$849.37; expenditure, \$849.25; fees, \$29.25. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 633 note, and V, 711.) Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 80, says he "wielded a good lance at San Pasqual," and at the time of Sheriff Barton's death, in pursuit of Amando Flores, Tomás Sánchez took over (*ibid.*, pp. 405-406). Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 275, speaks of his courage.

22. S. K. Labatt was authorized by Judge Myron Norton to organize the CITY GUARD, Jan. 19, 1855. Labatt became captain of the RINGGOLD LIGHT ARTILLERY (*A.G. Archives*). Myron Norton was prominent in legal and governmental affairs in San Francisco and Los Angeles, starting his career in California as a member of the New York Volunteers, 1848 (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 755). In *A.G. Archives*, letters received 1863-66 [in pencil "1850"], is a report to Governor McDougal from Maj. Gen. J. H. Bean (older brother

of Roy Bean, "the law west of the Pecos"), dated Jan. 1, 1852, in which Bean says: "I cannot close my communication without mentioning . . . Major Myron Norton, Act. Asst. Adj. Genl. . . ." in Indian campaign of 1851 in Los Angeles County.

23. Antonio Francisco Coronel arrived in California in 1834 with his father, Ignacio (who, like Covarrubias, had planned to be a teacher). In 1846-47, A. F. Coronel served as captain in organized opposition to U. S. occupation of southern California, but afterwards he gave his efforts to viticulture and to civic and political matters. The year he signed the petition (1853) mentioned in the text, he was mayor of Los Angeles, and from 1854 to 1867 a member of the town council (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 768). His political activities are related in Davis, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

24. *A.G. Archives*, LOS ANGELES GUARDS, an invoice dated Dec. 9, 1853, to Captain Wheeler for arms, indorsed "per Adams & Co.'s Express"; a note in pencil says "disbanded." The petition recites the necessity for protection against "the numerous horde of Robbers & bad men who infest our country," and asks that the arms be sent in "care of Alexander and Banning of San Pedro."

25. It seems reasonable to suppose that the LOS ANGELES CITY GUARD was the successor of the LOS ANGELES GUARD, the company being under new management: Capt. Wheeler of the LOS ANGELES GUARD became first lieutenant of the LOS ANGELES CITY GUARD. The *Sac. Union* (May 3, 1861) states that the LOS ANGELES GUARD, supposed to have been disbanded, had issued to it 50 percussion muskets; and the CITY GUARD, also supposed disbanded, had 60 percussion muskets. These units were thus spoken of as separate and distinct. The report of the adj. general for 1861 says of the CITY GUARD, "this is an old organization of which little is known at this Department"; since the election of William Moore as captain on Feb. 16, 1856, no reports had been received from the company, and no answers from the several letters addressed to it since July 1860. Brig. Gen. Andrés Pico had promised to submit a report on the company. Gen. Kibbe in one place spoke of the election of Wheeler as captain, but in another place he reported that W. W. Twist was captain, although Twist had resigned on Feb. 11, 1856.

26. "Big of heart, big of body, big of enterprise—the life and soul of Los Angeles County," is the way J. R. Browne characterized Phineas Banning (*Adventures in the Apache Country*, New York, 1869, p. 56). Banning's headquarters for staging and teaming were at San Pedro. Through his efforts, a new town was built, which he called Wilmington, after his birthplace, and which Ross Browne describes in picturesque fashion (*ibid.*, p. 34). Lillian Williamson in "New Light on J. J. Warner" (*Publs., Hist. Soc. So. Calif.*, XIII, Pt. 1, 1924, 23), gives details of his staging business. In 1861, according to the *Alta California* of Oct. 24, 1861, Banning and Hinchman supplied 23 wagons to haul government supplies from Los Angeles to Fort Yuma. Layne, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30, lists Banning's name, as well as Sepúlveda's, among the rangers in Capt. Alexander Hope's company, mentioned above, among the pre-1857 Los Angeles companies. *A.G. Archives*, LOS ANGELES GUARD, give Banning as in command of the 1st brigade, Cal. native cavalry, in 1875.

27. George Whitman will appear later at San Bernardino.

28. *A.G. Archives*, CITY GUARD.

29. *Ibid.*, misc.-letters file.

30. James R. Barton, who came to California in 1845, participated, along with Abel Stearns, B. D. Wilson, Alexander Bell, and others, in military movements designed to protect the interests of foreigners against the rival native factions. He had also served during the American conquest. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 495, and V, 264-65 note, 360, and 435.) See also Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals*, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-500, for events leading up to his death in 1857, and Bancroft's comment that Sheriff Barton was "one of the bravest and most conscientious of Los Angeles officials." See note 21 above for his successor.

31. H. D. Barrows, "Reminiscences of Los Angeles," *Publs., Hist. Soc. So. Calif.*, III (1893), 55-62, says that J. Lancaster Brent was a lawyer; and Layne, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 330, includes Brent among Los Angeles' "important pioneers of 1850." One episode, resulting from his southern states sympathies, is related by Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

A sketch of Benjamin Davis Wilson's life occurs in Bancroft, *California*, V, 777, where his activities as first mayor of Los Angeles, Indian agent, state senator, and fruit raiser are enumerated. He was a native of Tennessee.

32. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 127; see also Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, as above, pp. 496-97; and Layne, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 339, where Dryden is spoken of as a "leader of business enterprise." In 1857, he was granted a franchise for a water-supply system for Los Angeles.

33. Agustín Olvera, cousin of A. F. Coronel (see note 23 above), and, like him, an arrival of 1834, turned his legal and political abilities, after the American conquest, into channels for the advantage of the new state. Bancroft, *California*, IV, 758-59.

James Thompson was sheriff in 1855, after his two predecessors had been assassinated within one year. (Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 406 ff.)

Mention of both Thompson and Frank Alexander, in opposing banditry in the southern part of the state, is made in Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals*, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-502.

34. See note 17 above for data on John O. Wheeler. Columbus Sims, a lawyer, who came to California in 1852, was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 2d cavalry, Calif. Volunteers, on Sept. 10, 1861, and was promoted to colonel on Nov. 13 of the same year. (Orton, *op. cit.*, p. 196.)

35. *Ibid.*, p. 376. Though disappointed, Moore wrote to Carleton on Feb. 13, 1862, saying that he deferred to the colonel's superior military judgment. (*A.G. Archives*, misc. records.)

36. There is a receipt for these items, except the cannon, dated June 30, 1858, and signed by Twist, in the *A.G. Archives*, SOUTHERN RIFLES. The report of the adj. general for 1861 states also that the SOUTHERN RIFLES had 45 pistols, and that the "Citizens of Los Angeles" had 40 rifles and 40 pistols, issued "per order Gov. J. Neely Johnson, February 4th, 1857."

37. *A.G. Archives*. In his report for 1861, the adj. general mentioned Sepúlveda as captain of the LANCEROS at the time of the report; Ramón Carrillo was major of ordnance, staff of 1st brigade, 1st div., Calif. militia, José Carrillo having replaced him as 1st lieutenant. LANCEROS DE LOS ANGELES; Joaquín Carrillo was lieutenant colonel and commissary, 1st div., Calif. militia.

38. *A.G. Archives*, UNION GUARDS.

39. Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 268, speaks of Solomon Lazard as a prominent merchant of Los Angeles.

40. Before the reorganization in 1866, which created the California National Guard, each company of militia had four commissioned officers; the fourth was known as "brevet second lieutenant," "second second lieutenant," or "third lieutenant."

41. According to the *Daily Evening Bulletin* of March 11, 1856, Henry N. Alexander was married to Doña Felicianita, daughter of Don Pedro Domínguez, at Los Angeles on Feb. 24, 1856.

42. A true copy of this letter, in the handwriting of Gen. Pico, is in the *S.S. Archives*.

43. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, *op. cit.*, 508, says that on the streets of Los Angeles, Nov. 15, 1863, "... officer Hester [Robert A.?], in endeavoring to make an arrest, was brutally beaten by a noted highwayman, Boston Damewood. . . ." (The name of Judge Craven P. Hester, of the district court of Santa Clara County, is associated with the deciding of *Peralta vs. Peralta*, in May 1855, in favor of a *pro rata* proportion of the estate to the five daughters, instead of to the four sons exclusively.)

44. George W. Gift, midshipman in the U.S. navy, publisher, Sacramento banker,

newspaper man, was, like B. D. Wilson, mentioned above, a native of Tennessee. During 1861, Gift's loyalty was doubted to the extent of his being hanged in effigy in Sacramento, with a placard reading, "Treason's choicest 'Gift.'" (*Sac. Union*, Aug. 12, 1861). In 1874, he was back again in California and editing the *Napa Weekly Reporter*. His contribution to Californiana, written three years after his arrival, was *The Settler's Guide* (Benicia, 1851), a summary of federal and state laws relating to preëemption claims in California. See Edith M. Coulter, "California Copyrights, 1851-1856," this *QUARTERLY*, XXII (March 1943), 30.

45. *A.G. Archives*, LOS ANGELES MOUNTED RIFLES, CITY GUARD, and LOS ANGELES GREYS.

46. In 1857, G. N. Whitman was 3d lieut., LOS ANGELES CITY GUARD.

47. For Maj. Edwin A. Sherman and southern California secessionists, see this *QUARTERLY*, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 275-77. Cf. *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 551-53 (letter from Sherman to Carleton, July 27, 1861, San Bernardino), and *Sac. Union*, Sept. 23, 1862.

48. Capt. John W. Davidson's letter, dated Aug. 13, 1861, to Maj. D. C. Buell, assist. adj. general, U.S.A., is given in *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 567-68. A biographical note on Davidson appears in Bancroft, *California*, II, 775.

49. See also *Sac. Union*, July 11, 1861; and William Preston Johnston, *The Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston* (New York, 1878), p. 277; Ridley's report on escorting Gen. Johnston across the country is given on pp. 278-79.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78, for G. W. Gift's account.

51. *Alta California*, May 29, 1862.

52. *A.G. Archives*, MONTE RANGERS; also LOS ANGELES CITY GUARDS.

53. *S.S. Archives*.

54. Percival J. Cooney, "Southern California in Civil War Days," *Publs., Hist. Soc. So. Calif.*, XIII (1924), 54-68. For the requisition of arms, see *S.S. Archives*.

55. *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 993-94, Henry D. Barrows (U.S. marshal, southern dist. of Calif.) to Col. J. H. Carleton, Los Angeles, Apr. 9, 1862.

56. *S.S. Archives*.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 563, 568, 575. Capt. Davidson warned against marauding Mormons.

59. Luther A. Ingersoll, *Ingersoll's Century Annals of San Bernardino County, 1769-1904* (Los Angeles, 1904), p. 153.

60. Lytle had been a 2d lieut. in Company E, Mormon battalion (*ibid.*, p. 127).

61. Clift was 3d lieut. in Company B of the Mormon battalion; in 1853, he became the first sheriff of San Bernardino County (*ibid.*, pp. 127, 141).

62. *War of the Rebellion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-55 (Mark Jacobs *et al.* to Carleton). Carleton's letter in response is dated Aug. 2, 1861.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 622-23 (Edwin A. Sherman to Capt. Davidson, Sept. 14, 1861; and Davidson to Capt. Richard C. Drum, assist. adj. gen., San Francisco, Sept. 16, 1861, where Davidson speaks of Mormon designs to "cloak themselves as Union men for the purpose of splitting the Union vote").

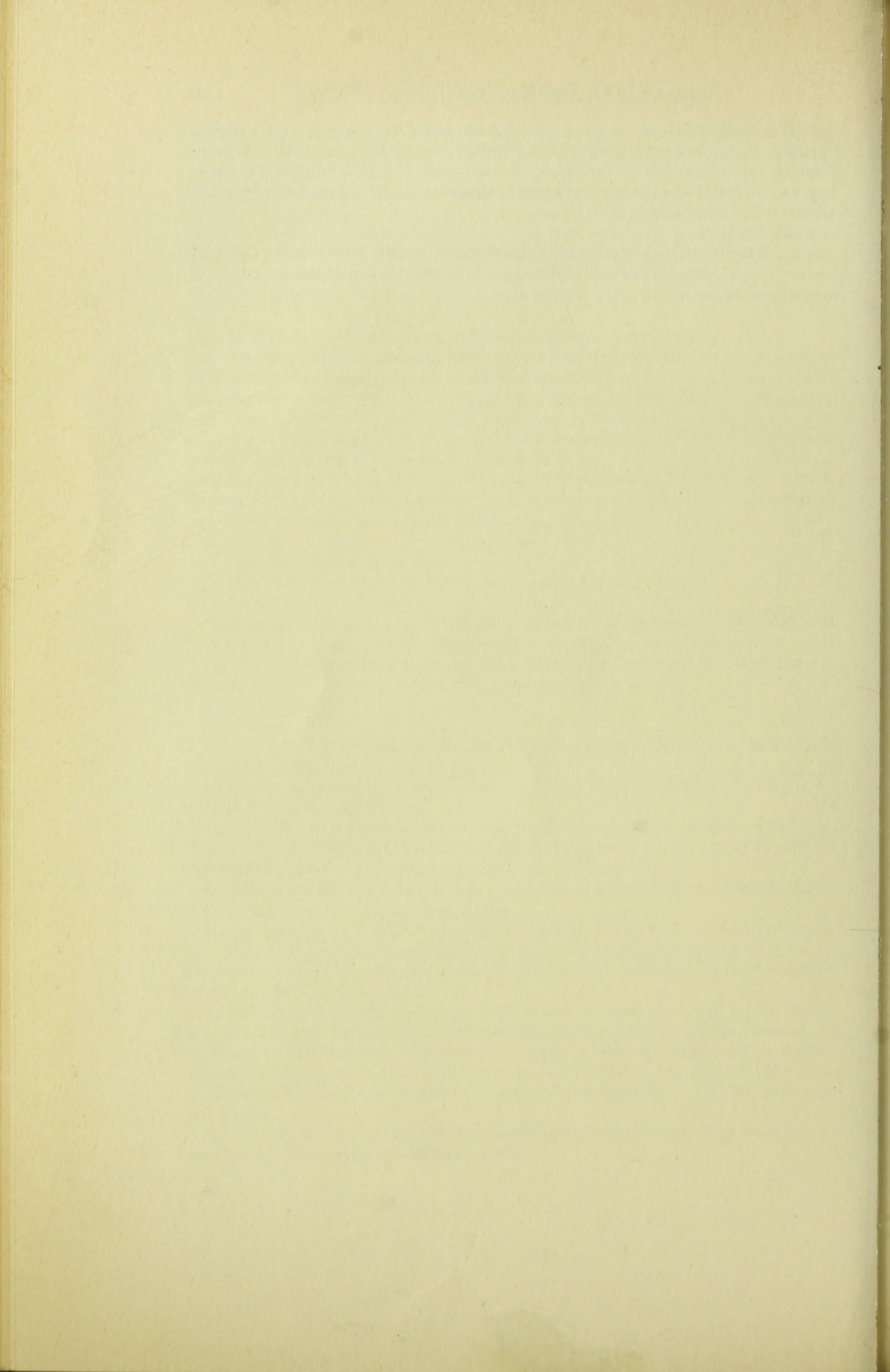
64. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 543-71, for extended account of this massacre of emigrants to southern California, from Missouri and Arkansas, by the Mormons, which occurred early in Sept. 1857 (exact day in doubt). Albert S. Johnston was in Utah in 1857 as commander of the "Army of Utah" (Benjamin F. Gilbert, "The Mythical Johnston Conspiracy," this *QUARTERLY*, XXVIII, June 1949, pp. 165 ff.).

65. Clarence E. Bennett (born in New York) was graduated from West Point in 1855, having received his appointment from Arizona.

66. *War of the Rebellion, op. cit.*, p. 556 (Bennett to Carleton, Aug. 6, 1861, inclosing a petition, transcribed on p. 557, to Gen. Sumner); and *ibid.*, p. 594 (Maj. W. Scott Ketchum, hdqrs. near San Bernardino, to asst. adj. gen., U.S.A., hdqrs. San Francisco, Aug. 30, 1861, regarding the two companies of dragoons which had been sent from Los Angeles to San Bernardino).

67. *S.S. Archives*.

68. J. M. Guinn, "The Lost Mines of Santa Catalina," *Publs., Hist. Soc. So. Calif.*, IX (1912-13), 43-48, assumes this gold rush to have been genuine and doubts the reality of any secessionist plot.



Starr King Heads List

*Subscribers to First Unitarian Society's
Building Fund*

Edited by CLOTILDE GRUNSKY TAYLOR

OCTOBER twentieth marks the one hundredth anniversary of the first meeting of a Unitarian fellowship in San Francisco. On that Sunday morning in 1850, Rev. Charles Andrews Farley, a Unitarian minister who happened to be in California on his own affairs, preached before a gathering in Simmons Atheneum Hall. Joseph Coolidge led an impromptu choir with his violin. After the services, twenty-five men remained to arrange means for continuing worship and to plan the formation of a Unitarian Society. This was formally organized on November 17, 1850, under the name of The First Unitarian Society of San Francisco.

The return of the minister to the Atlantic states in April 1851, and two catastrophic fires that laid waste much of San Francisco in May and June of that year, interrupted the organization's progress for a while. However, in January of 1852 steps were taken to resume services, which was finally accomplished on August 27, 1852. The district court room and Armory Hall (then the largest auditorium in the city) were successively used as assembly places.

Land had already been bought for a church building on Stockton Street near Sacramento and on this a church was erected in modified Greek temple style, which was formally dedicated and used for service on July 19, 1853. The Rev. Joseph Harrington, who had come from New York to fill the pulpit, died suddenly after only three months of preaching and his place was filled temporarily by the Rev. Frederic T. Gray, who came from Boston to serve from June 1853 until June 1854. The Rev. Rufus P. Cutler of Portland, Maine, arrived in September of that year and served as minister for five years. His resignation in June 1859 led to the calling of Thomas Starr King to the pulpit. For the nine months which elapsed until Starr King's arrival in April 1860, the Rev. J. A. Buckingham served as pastor.

Starr King's steamer docked on Saturday, April twenty-eighth. The next day, to a crowded church, he preached his first sermon. His fame as a lecturer and preacher of great power had preceded him and his eloquence won him such popularity that during the course of the first year the church debt was paid off. He had planned to return to his church in Boston at the close of a year's service, but the break between the north and the south, and the secession of the southern states in February 1861, led him to the decision that California represented a greater field for service. He entered upon the work of saving California for the Union, preaching and lecturing up and down

the state on patriotic themes until the issue was finally settled in favor of the Union by a decisive majority in the fall of that year. He then took up the task of raising money to care for sick and wounded soldiers and toured the entire Pacific Coast for the Sanitary Commission, with the result that over \$1,500,000 was contributed from the Pacific coast to further that work.

In spite of these great labors, Starr King found time to carry on his church work. Early in his San Francisco ministry he started the idea of erecting a new church. The old one had an auditorium of inadequate size to accommodate those who clamored to attend his services, and there were no facilities for the auxiliary organizations of the church, whose work was of growing importance. On May 31, 1862, the First Unitarian Society of San Francisco voted to build a new church. As reported by the *Alta California* of June 1, 1862, William Norris, C. L. Howe and J. C. Merrill were appointed a committee, with authority to buy the lot. "Rumor has it," continued the *Alta*, that one motive with the Congregation for the erection of the building, is a hope that they will be able to retain Mr. King as their pastor for five years, at least. It may be said that all San Francisco has an interest in seeing the new church built, not only because it will be an ornament to the city, but because it will be a deserved compliment to Mr. King, whose eloquence and character are part of the intellectual and moral wealth of the place.

The lot selected by the committee was on Geary Street near Stockton, and on December 3, 1862, the cornerstone was laid. A little over a year later (January 10, 1864), the church was dedicated, a hymn, written for the occasion by John Greenleaf Whittier, being part of the service.

Starr King lived to preach for only a few Sundays in the new building. His sudden death on March 4, 1864, saddened the entire city. On the day of his funeral, public buildings and private homes and business houses were officially draped in mourning, and by order of the government the guns on Alcatraz Island rendered a salute. Today he rests by special permission of the city in a grave at Franklin and Geary streets, site of the present First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.

The document, transcribed below, bearing the original signatures of the first subscribers to the building fund, is in the archives of the First Unitarian Society. The statement which precedes the signatures is in Thomas Starr King's own handwriting and his signature is first on the list.

San Francisco, May 3, 1862

THERE IS GREAT NEED of a new edifice, in a central location, for the First Unitarian Church of this city. The present is the favorable season—the only one likely to occur under the present pastor—to secure a lot & undertake the enterprise. But it can be approached only if there shall prove to be interest, enthusiasm, & a disposition to sacrifice something to establish it, among our parishioners. To test this point, it will be necessary to learn, first, how many of the society & its friends are willing to lend money, without interest, to

secure a proper lot & to commence, as soon as possible, the construction of an edifice. I have taken the liberty to make this statement, &, with regret that limited means will not permit me to increase the amount, offer a pledge as follows:—

Th. Starr King

One Thousand Dollars

[The handwriting changes here to that of the first of the signatures affixed to the following paragraph:]

For the purpose of carrying out the enterprise suggested by Mr. King, we, the undersigned hereby agree to contribute the amount set opposite our names, as a temporary loan, bearing no interest, the same to be returned to us upon the completion of the Church, or sooner if possible.

Macondray & Co. for Two Thousand Dollars	\$2000
Wm. Norris and Chas. L. Low	3000
Main & Winchester	2000
Geo. J. Brooks	1000
Chas. Wolcott Brooks and Edward F. Hall, Jr.	1000
Moses Ellis Two Thousand	2000
C. W. Hathaway	1000
McRuer & Merrill	1000
Geo. C. Shreve	1000
Amos Noyes	1000
R. G. Sneath	1000
R. B. Swain	1000
John H. Redington	1000
L. Stevens	1000
Nathaniel Page	1000
Shattuck & Hendley "returned"	500
John Hanna	500
C. L. Taylor	500
P. L. Weaver	500
Wm. C. Hinckley	1000
Francis Read	500
Sam J. Bridge	500
Hodge & Wood	500
F. H. Woods	500
C. Adolph Low & Co.	500
S. H. Wetherbee	500
Wm. H. Taylor "returned"	1000
Jno. S. Hanson "present provided the enterprise succeeds"	500
Chas. K. Smith "returned"	500
J. Chadbourne	500

The appended notes on the above signers are taken from the San Francisco *Directory* for 1862:

Macondray & Co. (James Otis, W. A. and Fred W. Macondray), commission merchants.

Wm. Norris, secretary California Steam Navigation Co.; Chas. L. Low, trustee of same.

Chas. Main and Ezra H. Winchester, importers and mfgs. of saddles, harness, etc.

George J. Brooks & Co., importers, printing, writing and wrapping papers.

Chas. W. Brooks & Co. (W. Frank Ladd and Edward F. Hall, Jr.), commission merchants.

Moses Ellis & Co. (P. L. Weaver), wholesale grocers.

C. W. Hathaway & Co., produce commission merchants and storage.

D. C. McRuer and John C. Merrill, auction, shipping, and commission merchants. Merrill at that time was supervisor for the ninth district.

Geo. C. Shreve & Co. (Lucius Thompson), importers, watches, diamonds, etc.

Amos Noyes, marine surveyor.

Richard G. Sneath and John Arnold, wholesale grocers.

R. B. Swain & Co., commission merchants and insurance agents.

Redington & Co. (A. J. Almy, Horatio P. Livermore, A. G. Coffin, and D. W. C. Rice), importers and jobbers, drugs, medicines, oil, etc.

Levi Stevens, Colin C. Baker & Co. (Judah Baker, Jr.), importing, shipping and commission merchants.

Nathaniel Page, lumber.

D. D. Shattuck and A. C. Hendley, provision dealers.

John Hanna (two entries under same name: cement and plaster; and deputy county clerk, fourth district).

Charles L. Taylor, clerk with C. M. Plum, upholstery and carpets.

P. L. Weaver, with Moses Ellis & Co., as above.

W. C. Hinckley, residence in Milton Place (no profession given). This was William Crawley Hinckley, shipmaster, country storekeeper, and San Francisco resident from 1849 to 1872, as noted in Bancroft's "Pioneer Register." Captain Hinckley was a member of the Unitarian Church for many years and left a large bequest to them in the name of himself and his wife, for dispensation as charity.

Francis Read, warehouseman at Cunningham's warehouse.

Sam J. Bridge, in U. S. appraiser general's office.

John G. Hodge and Frank S. Wood, importers and jobbers, books, stationery and cheap [*sic*] publications.

Francis H. Woods, stock, note, and money broker.

C. Adolph Low & Co. (Charles H. Baldwin and Samuel Hort), commission merchants and insurance agents.

Seth H. Wetherbee, lumber.

Wm. H. Taylor (resident of New York) of firm of F. B. Taylor & Co., Eureka Camphine and Oil Works; factory at Bryant near Fourth St.

Jno. S. Manson, real estate.

Chas. K. Smith, listed but no profession given in *Directory*.

J. Chadbourne, proprietor of Eclipse Bakery.

Nantucket to the Golden Gate in 1849

From Letters in the Winslow Collection

Transcribed, with Foreword, by HELEN IRVING OEHLER

(Concluded)

[From Diary—]

On Monday the 1st of Oct. at 11 A.M., Mr. Fisher and myself left Benicia on mules for the overland route to Sacramento City. We dispatched 2 boats with 20 men and 1 or two waggons and stores for Sacramento City where we were to meet them. We had a pleasant ride through the day. About 1 we stopped to refresh ourselves and let our mules rest also. The stopping place was on the side of a hill in the shade of an oak with a low marsh in front of us. This spot was about 8 miles from Benicia. We ranged over the vallies and hills whenever we saw herds of horses—to find those belonging to Mr. Fisher and Mr. Silliman.

The afternoon ride was particularly pleasant. We rode over a very extensive level plain bordered by lofty hills with a creek or marsh on the right. The whole plain was covered with wild oats, dry on account of the season, but the earth teemed with such an abundance that in the verdant season its luxuriance must be beautiful to look upon. On the marsh was a band of horses. Those we were bound to examine. After crossing a little spring stream we entered a low ground covered with wild celery and rank grass and galloped over to the opposite hill. The horses were very fine looking but those we were in search of were not of the number. The old stud showed that he was master and protector of the herd by the boldness and menacing bearing which he manifested to us.

We wound around the hills—passed a few indian wigwams, miserably thatched structures, and about 5 or a little after we reached Mr. Berry's rancho. The Hacienda was located on the edge of a stream which was now so low that water was found only in the low bottoms of the ravines. Willows and oaks were growing on the borders of it and the rancho itself was covered with oaks sparsely scattered over it so as to give it an appearance of an extensive orchard irregularly laid out.

Soon we had a delicious supper—made so only by our hunger and the rich new butter which was furnished in abundance. The family of Mr. B. consisted of himself, wife and three sons and one daughter. They had been in this country since '46 having crossed the mountains from Missouri. We slept four beds in a room, the floor of the common earth and the moonlight pouring in through a thousand apertures in the roof and sides. It was a delightfully moonlight night and the air bland and mellow and altogether unlike the horrible atmosphere of the sea coast.

During the night a rifle was fired near us which startled us all. We found in the morning that Mr. Berry had shot a kiota or wolf which was stealing up to the house to carry off one of his pet pigs. He watched him from a hole and shot him in the head. This event and countless fleas, the crawling of which I feel now, will make me long remember that night. The night before a tiger had attacked a mule near the house and clawed him very much.

Yesterday morning, the 2d of Oct., we rose early and prepared our horses for a start. The hostess was up betimes for us and had coffee and fried beef already prepared for us. We enjoyed our breakfast and before 7 commenced our journey. Here we found our lost horses. They had been taken good care of by Mr. Berry when he was not certain that the owners would call for them.

The morning's ride was charming. The landscape was very mellow. The hills and vallies yellow with seared oats were studded with oaks. The road led over hill and through valley till about 9 we entered the precinct of Baca's rancho. This was extensive and very fine. Here I bought a small mare, a beautiful creature, and gave 82.50 for her. I considered it under the circumstances of the times a very good bargain.

From Baca's we started about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 and through the rest of the day we rode over an arid plain covered with wild oats in profusion. At Baca's we left the hilly and mountainous region and entered the far famed valley of the Sacramento. This was 30 miles of uninterrupted level plain. The tops of the willows and oaks gradually and successively appearing in the distance like the sails of a ship on the ocean when she is too remote to show her hull. In the course of the afternoon we came to a water course sunk in the plain, the borders of which as usual were luxuriant with willows and oaks and a great variety of shrubbery. This we followed till 5 P.M. when we stopped to encamp under a couple of broad spreading oaks. At 2 we had stopped to lunch and to let our animals feed. There in the shade we had laid open Mrs. Fisher's nice plum cake which she had made for her husband on his leaving home.

After tying our horses out to feed and arranging everything for the night we bathed in the river which here was wide and deep with a sluggish current. This stream was a channel worn out of the plain and meandering through it. We listened around the camp fire to young Dan Berry who told any quantity of Munchausen bear and lion stories and who told them in just such a manner as to make them very amusing. Between 8 and 9 we laid down in our blankets under the oak and slept more or less. The night was chilly and damp and the sky hazy so as to obscure the moon.

The wolves were numerous and kept around us most of the night. They made it hideous with their incessant and distant howlings.

This morning (the 3d) we started early, traveled 15 miles to this place.

The first six laid across the plain. The next six were somewhat lower ground and were filled with *tula*, but the earth was dry and we made a good passage through the water road. The last three were over a rather variegated landscape till at last we entered a grove of oaks which extended some distance from the banks of the Sacramento. We had our horses taken over the river in a Ferryboat for which we paid \$1 each, no charge made for ourselves.

Sacramento City—full of dust as fine as powder and one of the most disagreeable places to live in that could be found. The buildings are mostly tents. The banks of the river lined with vessels. The horse market I shall never forget. Here we bought two pair of oxen and cart and 2 more mules to fill out our team.

Capt. Brotherton of sch Ferdinand was very polite to us and our men. He invited us all to stay on board his vessel, in consideration of my hospitality to Mr. Gilman and Mr. Fisher's kindness to him during their travels together. Mr. Digraw invited us to take tea with him and we accepted his invitation. Here we were treated to beautiful fish fresh from the waters of the Sacramento. Our boat arrived in the course of the forenoon, the men all well and in good spirits. Tomorrow we shall start for the Mormon Island diggings—and leave here at 2 or 3 in the afternoon.

Thursday—the 4th Oct.—We started with our mule team—and ox team of three yoke with very heavy loads for Mormon Island, about 25 miles or 30 from this place. The men traveled on foot some of them taking turns occasionally to ride the horses, while Mr. Fisher was engaged with his teams or I walked to give them an opportunity to ride and rest themselves. The oxen were weak, being thin in flesh, and the men were easily fatigued. After traveling 10 miles we encamped under a large oak late in the evening. It was after dark before the ox team and some of the party came into camp.

A large tree was prostrate in which a fire was still burning which had been kindled by some preceding travellers. We renewed it and set signal lights for those behind by throwing large handfuls of grass to make a blaze to light them along. We had elk meat which was fried and we made a nice supper and slept finely on the ground. The small tent was erected for Mr. F and myself and the 2 parties occupied their tents. This was a pleasant journey.

We followed the course of the Amer. River very nearly on the south side. Two miles from the city we passed Sutter's fort—a large square structure built of adobes and resembling a fortress in several particulars. On one side of the court was erected a gallows where Sutter was in the habit of executing indians and others who committed crimes against him or his property. His house stood in the middle of the court and all around the walls were dormitories or small structures for residences for his indians and servants.

On the morning of the 5th—Friday—we rose at daylight—got breakfast, drove up and harnessed the cattle and mules, mounted our horses and pre-

pared for a start. Mr. F looked among some emigrant encampments for a good pair of cattle and found a first rate pair for which he paid \$100. This day's journey was a very pleasant one. The road did not follow the curves of the river so that we did not reach it again till night. About noon we came to a spring in a small ravine where we watered our stock.

A little before this we encamped under some noble trees on a low grassy plain where we dined. Late in the afternoon we arrived at a fine grassy spot where we let our cattle graze for the night. We encamped on the hill above, pitching our tents under broad spreading trees. We were all tired and all hungry and ate heartily of elk meat and our other delicacies of biscuit and tea.

In the night I was waked by the noise of two of our party who were ill. The next day a third one was ill and grew sicker all day. I gave them medicines suitable for a sort of chol. morbus and let them ride in the wagons. The next day they were better and recovered rapidly.

This day Alex. Myrick shot a wolf called in the country kiota. They are a sort of hyena and Mr. Gilman has just related to me that he came to a spot a few days since in a ravine between the middle and south forks where the body of a dead man had been partly disinterred by these animals. They are a mean and disgusting looking beast and prowl with great boldness around the camps of travellers as soon as they are still at night. They are so sly and noiseless in their approach that they will take things from under the heads of sleeping travellers. In one instance I heard of their taking a bag of coffee and carrying it some distance before they left it. The night before they carried off a sack of our salt meat, tore it open, and left it, scattered among the grass. This night they howled throughout the prairie and prowled around our tents but committed no depredations.

On Saturday morning—the 6th—we rose at daylight and intended to start early. One of the oxen fell in crossing a ravine and was so stubborn about getting up that he detained the company and to add to the annoyance a yoke which Dan (Daniel Blagdon our great teamster) carried to the river to drink struck off into the stream and swam to the opposite side. The horses were mounted and passing down the bank of the river some distance they crossed at a rapid and succeeded in getting the cattle back again. We started at 8 o'clock.

After travelling two or three miles we found the forward axle of the mule waggon had turned backward owing to the bending of the ring bolt. This occasioned more detention. But Mr. Fisher's wits in the woods were equal to his ingenuity under the most favorable circumstances. We gathered branches of oak and made a fire for getting a red heat on the iron bolt. After $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour's detention the waggon was in good order as ever and we started anew.

At dinner time we encamped an hour near water and dined under some

large oaks. The day was very hot and Mr. Bunker by afternoon became very unwell. The road was more hilly and we passed one or two bad ravines. Mr. Fisher's labours during these days was prodigious and almost uninterrupted. He gave up his horse most of the time to his men and attended much of the time to driving his teams. None of his party could attend to this business properly and to his satisfaction. I feared he too would become sick in consequence of his exertions and his total disregard of his own health. The permanency of our company's organization depends wholly I think on him and his great determination and constant thought to keep the men united.

POSTSCRIPT

Nothing found among the Winslow papers indicates whether the Henry Astor Company stayed together or broke up, for at this point both the diary and the letters come to an abrupt stop, except for a few notations of money spent and notes given contained in the diary. Dr. Winslow may have returned home by another route, for in the diary is this item:

Expenses from San Blas to Vera Cruz

San Blas to Tepic—sadd. horse	5.00	Guadl. fine place—wish to
Cargo mule	5.00	stay 2 or 3 days—City of
Servant and his beast	5.00	Mexico 3 days or longer—
Tepic to Guadalajara	45.00	Vera Cruz 2 days. Travel-
Guad. to Mexico in coach	120.00	lers better go in parties of
Mexico to Vera Cruz	60.00	8 or 10 together to avoid
Expenses per day for food, lodging etc—	25.00	robberies. Hardly a dilli-
		gence passes without be-
		ing robbed.
	265.00	
Vera Cruz to N. Orleans in sailing vessels	50.00	

ADDENDUM

In the introduction to this series of Winslow letters, quotation was made (this QUARTERLY, March 1950, p. 2) from a letter to Winslow written by Paul K. Hubbs, state superintendent of public education, requesting a copy of one of Winslow's recent lectures, to which the latter replied:

San Francisco March 31st 1854
 Esteemed Friend
 Your very complimentary letter was received yesterday.

The interests of public education are the noblest objects of encouragement. Private knowledge should always become public knowledge and all citizens should contribute a quota in some way to the great educational affairs of the State. This principle I acknowledge and so far as my time and abilities will allow I will endeavor to accommodate myself to your wishes. I have a lecture in preparation for another occasion in which some of the views to which you refer are embodied and if in your opinion I can serve the purpose of public improvement by its redelivery in this city I will do it with cheerfulness at any time you may think best and if your friend the superintendent of the public schools will take charge of the arrangements

the entire proceeds of the occasion may be appropriated in welcome to the enlargement of the public school library.

Yours very truly,
 C F WINSLOW

Another letter from the Winslow-Hubbs correspondence reads as follows:

Mon cher Ami

Benicia 27 June 1854

Yesterdays note at hand with thanks from self and from wife.

—How is it we dont hear from you “before the people.”

—How is it that you have become so selfish as not to divide out, now and then, of your “acquisitions.”—

—Your lecture on the “Preparation of the Earth for the Human Race” is every where lauded as profound.—When shall we have another?

There is an excellent institution, the Mercantile Library Assn., I think it is entitled, and I think further that Frank Soulé is somewhere about it.—I send herein a note to him desirous that you be acquainted, and if the association desire your services, give it as your bounden duty.—I want to hear from you more frequently as demonstrating the views of our old friends and masters (or rather yours as I was too neglectful of their kindness) of La Belle France. Why have you not ere this been scalping a bull dog and taking away consecutively the layers of the brain to demonstrate the seat of life à la [François] Magendie [French physiologist, 1783-1855] for useful purposes? —Do you mean to bury with you all the teachings and high demonstrations and bold but truthful theories of [D. F. J]. Arago [French physicist, 1786-1853]—good big headed, big hearted and true Republican that he was.—Don't sell your soul for money acquired by curing bilious fevers, but leave the more brilliant part with the “humans” that are coming after you.—Lets have a Book or a Lecture to make one.

Yours PAUL K. HUBBS

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

(Continued)

III. REVOLT

The year 1846 had commenced with conflict imminent between the United States and Mexico. The Americans who had infiltrated into the Sacramento Valley and the Napa country were a hardy, self-reliant lot, excellent marksmen, and ready to fight if their interests were affected. Some, including the more foot-loose, were ready to fight just to be fighting. Others, having more at stake, proved more cautious until a favorable situation developed. All were in a comparatively isolated position and had been subjected to little control. Except in mounted action, they considered themselves more than a match for Californians, man for man. Many had recently established homes in California either as squatters or on land granted them by the Mexican government. The waters extending from San Francisco Bay to the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers constituted a natural obstacle, easy to hold against any comparable Californian forces which could have been brought from the south.³⁷

With these conditions existing, only an incident and effective leadership were needed to cause the Americans in the north to take the field against the Californians.

Incidents, and exaggerated rumors of incidents, were soon supplied. Word reached the north country that Gen. José Castro had, by proclamation, ordered foreigners to leave the country, that he planned forcible execution of that edict, and that he had encouraged Indians to burn the crops of the Americans. Actually the proclamation set forth that the purchase or acquisition of land by foreigners who had not become naturalized as Mexicans "will be null and void, and they will be subject (if they do not retire voluntarily from the country) to be expelled whenever the country may find it convenient."³⁸ This plain threat of expulsion, stating an undoubted right of the Mexican government and implying the willingness to place it in execution at an opportune time, was properly interpreted by many of the foreigners as placing in jeopardy their future existence in California. The threat thus had all the effect of a direct order to leave and caused those toward whom it was directed to seek counter action.

The needed leadership was slower in forthcoming. Capt. John C. Frémont, U. S. Topographical Engineers, following his wordy battle with Castro and

the raising of the American flag on a peak of the Gabilan Range, about twenty-five miles northeast of Monterey, had moved slowly to Oregon with his exploring party. Thence he returned to the Sacramento Valley after receipt of a message delivered to him by Lieut. Archibald Gillespie, U. S. Marine Corps.³⁹ The actual content of the message has been the subject of much speculation. Obviously its import was sufficient to cause the return of Frémont, who reached Lassen's on May 24, and soon changed his camp to one at the Marysville Buttes.⁴⁰

Henry L. Ford was on the scene, for John Bidwell says that Ford was "one of the first (being near) to see Frémont passing down the Sacramento Valley."⁴¹ Mrs. Healey, daughter of William B. Ide, says that Ford came to the Belden rancho, near the present Red Bluff, "to tell father that Gen. Castro was on his way to drive all Americans from the country. How sad," says she, "for Mother and I to see father and Mr. Henry Ford ride off on such an expedition."⁴² Without claiming that Ford was a Paul Revere of the Bear Flag revolt, it must be noted that he did his part, probably including some hard riding, in spreading the alarm among the widely dispersed settlers in the upper Sacramento Valley.

Because of Frémont's official position, the settlers naturally turned to him for advice as to action and probably received from him encouragement to revolt, but no definite promises as to his immediate participation. On June 8, messages were sent out to assemble the settlers, and Frémont soon moved to a position in readiness near the junction of the Bear and Feather rivers.⁴³

The stage was set, and events soon moved toward positive action.

Early in June, General Castro went to Sonoma, consulted with Mariano G. Vallejo (then colonel in the Mexican army) and obtained some 170 horses. These were sent with an escort, consisting of lieutenants Francisco Arce and José María Alviso and eight men, by way of the Sacramento, destined for Santa Clara, where Castro was organizing his forces. The party with the horses crossed the Sacramento at William Knight's, arrived at Sutter's Fort June 8, and on the ninth moved to Martin Murphy's place on the Cosumnes River.⁴⁴

Meanwhile Frémont was notified of Arce's movement by William Knight. The story grew that the horses were to be used by Castro's forces in driving the settlers from the valley. Arce's boasting may have confirmed that impression. On June 9, a party consisting of Ezekiel Merritt as leader, Granville P. Swift, Henry L. Ford, Robert Semple, and about a half-dozen others, started after Arce from the neighborhood of Frémont's camp. This movement had Frémont's approval, if not ordered by him.⁴⁵

"Stuttering" Merritt, who had "settled" at Moon's in 1845, was an old Rocky Mountain trapper of a "coarse, almost savage nature." Frémont described him thus: "He was tall and spare, what I understood by 'raw boned'; a rugged man, fearless and simple; taking delight in incurring risks, but tract-

able and not given to asking questions when there was something he was required to do. Merritt was my Field-Lieutenant among the settlers."⁴⁶

Semple, a native of Kentucky, was described as being over six and one-half feet in height and "fifteen inches in diameter." He was the good-natured subject of many stories regarding his height, one of which was that he wore his spurs attached to the calves of his legs when mounted. A versatile person of fine personality and manners, dentist, printer, able speaker, later called "Bueno Oso" by the Californians, he was a dominant figure in the early stages of the revolt.⁴⁷

The party was increased by two men at Hock Farm and by two more at American River, including Allen Montgomery, at whose place a halt was made for the evening meal. Pushing on, they camped within a few miles of Murphy's place. At dawn on the tenth they left for Arce's camp, which they surprised and captured with a charge. Arce was allowed to keep his sword and a horse for each of his party. He was notified to tell Castro to come and try to take the horses if he dared. The Americans also made a threat to take Sonoma, and Merritt is said to have offered boastingly to re-enact Arce's capture, since the latter objected because he had been taken by surprise.⁴⁸

The captured horses were taken to Frémont's camp on the Bear River where Merritt's party arrived on the morning of June 11, having traveled about 120 miles in two days. Merritt, with additional men bringing his party to twenty, left that afternoon to carry out the plan to take Sonoma.⁴⁹

Since trouble with Sutter at New Helvetia was not feared, it was logical that Sonoma was made the next objective. The town had not been garrisoned for some time, but a few cannon, several hundred muskets, and some ammunition were located there. At Sonoma were Colonel Vallejo, a person of much influence north of the bay, and his brother Capt. Salvador Vallejo. Control of Sonoma would serve to protect the nearby foreigners and would afford a convenient base for further operations in the general area.

To keep the march as secret as possible, it was necessary to avoid the usually traveled route to Sonoma; furthermore it was important to get information of the plan of action to the American settlers in Napa Valley. Crossing the Sacramento at Hardy's, the party made a stop for supper at Gordon's on Cache Creek. Merritt, who had hunted the country often, then led his men farther up Cache Creek, crossed Blue Ridge with a hard climb and even steeper descent into Berryessa Valley, and thence, via Elias Barnett's place in Pope Valley, passed to the head of Napa Valley near present-day Calistoga. Scattered south from that vicinity toward Yount's were the habitations of several American settlers, Benjamin and Samuel Kelsey, John York, and John Grigsby, among others.⁵⁰

While the party rested in the upper Napa Valley, messengers were sent out to warn the settlers. Those who had joined en route and those recruited at this time brought the strength of the party to about thirty-three. A final

meeting, addressed by Semple, was held at Bale's Mill, which still stands about three miles north of the present town of St. Helena. On the night of June 13-14, the group passed down the valley, crossed the intervening ridge, possibly by a route lying somewhat north of the present Napa-Sonoma road, and approached the sleeping pueblo of Sonoma at dawn. A native was arrested near town to prevent his giving an alarm.⁵¹

At the northeast corner of the plaza was the chapel of Mission San Francisco Solano, established in 1823; then in succession on the north side were the unguarded barracks, the home of Colonel Vallejo, and the residence of his brother, Salvador. On the west side was the home of Jacob Leese, and other houses bordered the square.⁵²

Awakened, Colonel Vallejo peered out and saw the rough-looking crowd. He dressed quickly and, although advised to escape by his wife, went to the door, asked the cause of the disturbance and learned that he was taken into custody as a prisoner. Soon, by compulsion or otherwise, Lieut. Col. Victor Prudon, Salvador Vallejo, and Jacob Leese, all prominent men of the vicinity, entered Colonel Vallejo's house.⁵³

Written guaranties were exchanged. The two Vallejos and Prudon signed a document as "prisoners of war," pledging that they would not "take up arms for or against" the insurgents. In return, written assurance, signed by Ezekiel Merritt, R. Semple, William Fallon, and Samuel Kelsey for their party, asserted "it is not our intention to take or injure any person who is not in opposition to the cause, nor will we take or destroy the property of private individuals further than is necessary for our immediate support."⁵⁴

According to Ide, it appears that members of the party who remained outside grew impatient of the delay, elected John Grigsby as captain, and sent him to the inner sanctum to investigate. Another long wait ensued, made partially bearable by someone who produced a supply of brandy for the outsiders. Finally they selected Ide to enquire into the situation.

Of his findings, Ide says, "The General's [Vallejo's] generous spirits gave proof of his usual hospitality, as the richest wines and brandies sparkled in the glasses, and those who had thus unceremoniously met soon became merry companions; more especially—the weary visitors. . . . There sat Dr. S. [Semple], just modifying a long string of articles of capitulation. There sat Merritt—his head fallen; there sat Knight, no longer able to interpret; and there sat the new-made Captain [Grigsby], as mute as the seat he sat upon. The bottles had well nigh vanquished the captors."⁵⁵

It is useless to speculate as to whether the drinking inside and outside the house reached the state indicated by the later disgruntled Ide and by some non-insurgents. Certainly it is not to be supposed that the frontiersmen would allow the event to pass without some sort of a celebration.

A scene between Merritt and Salvador Vallejo is described by Ford and several others. It appears that in 1843, when Merritt was hunting in the upper

Napa Valley, he had been taken prisoner by Captain Vallejo, who struck him with the flat of his sword. Now, the situation reversed, Merritt approached Vallejo and, with eyes which "fairly flashed fire," said, "When I was your prisoner you struck me; now you are my prisoner, I will not strike you." One unruly individual proposed a division of the spoils, "but one universal, dark indignant frown made him shrink from the presence of honest men." Another, or possibly the same person, advised that Colonel Vallejo's house be sacked; the more severe deterrent applied in his case, according to Ford, was a threat that he would be "hung as high as Haman."⁵⁶

As it appeared that the prisoners were about to be released on parole, immediate disagreement arose. After much argument it was decided that they should be taken to the Sacramento, and Leese was allowed to accompany them as an interpreter. Merritt, Grigsby, and Semple preferring to go with the prisoners, an escort was formed which included about six others. Before their departure there was held a final meeting, addressed by Semple, at which Ide was selected captain of the twenty-four who were to remain at Sonoma. Riding away at about eleven o'clock on the morning of June 14, the erstwhile leaders were followed while within earshot by the upbraiding voice of Ide, who considered that they had deserted the cause.⁵⁷

The prisoners and escort arrived at Frémont's new camp on the American on the sixteenth. The trip was made without incident except that there is some evidence of an abortive attempt, or at least a plan on the part of some Californians, to release the captives en route. As an afterthought, Leese was included among the prisoners who were soon confined at Sutter's Fort and not released until the following August.⁵⁸

Back at Sonoma a flag was needed to replace that of Mexico, usually flown on the staff in front of the barracks. A hunt for materials took place. Whether the unbleached cotton came from Mrs. John Sears or another; whether the red stripe sewn horizontally at the bottom of the flag was from the petticoat of Chepa Mathews or of Mrs. Sears; whether red paint or berry juice was the medium used by William L. Todd, and a brush or a chewed stick his tool—all are still matters of confusion comparable with that which existed on that historic Sunday at Sonoma.

Certain it is that the completed flag showed on its upper right (observer's left) a single star in red; above the red stripe were the words CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC, outlined in black; and above that lettering, facing the star and also in red, was a crude representation of a grizzly bear standing on all fours.

Certainly also, Henry L. Ford must be conceded the distinction of having suggested as the central figure of the flag the grizzly bear, so respected as a fighter by Americans and Californians alike. Ford so states, others agree, and none apparently has asserted or proved otherwise.⁵⁹ As Todd's bear took form, we can well believe but cannot confirm that his efforts were met with the shouts of his comrades, "Bill! It looks more like a hog!" a judgment glee-

fully but less loudly seconded by the curious Californians. But a bear was intended, so the nickname-loving Californians dubbed the revolvers as "*Osos*." As "Bears" we shall now know them; as "Bears" they always will be known.⁶⁰

The halcyons of the flagstaff were manned and, "amid the hurrahs of the little party who swore to defend it if need be with their lives," there arose to the peak this famous frontier flag.⁶¹ The date of the first hoisting remains in doubt. The context of Ford's account of the flag raising indicates that it occurred the same day as the taking of Sonoma. Then followed a further organization of the party with Henry L. Ford elected first lieutenant, Samuel Kelsey second lieutenant, Granville P. Swift first sergeant, and Samuel Gibson second sergeant. The selection of Ford may have been due in part to his dragoon service, which had become known.⁶²

On the morning of the fifteenth the flag was raised at sunrise, and, after the mounting of the new guard, Lieutenant Ford addressed his contingent. He explained to his men that they were at war with the Mexican nation, that they must defend their cause, that discipline was necessary, and that the chosen officers must be obeyed. To which the party agreed.⁶³

By daylight of the fifteenth Ide completed a proclamation setting forth the reasons for the revolt, policies for future action, and assurances for the Californians. He prepared a letter for the U. S. naval authority at San Francisco Bay, explaining affairs at Sonoma, and dispatched it on the fifteenth by flag-maker Todd.⁶⁴

Capt. John B. Montgomery, U. S. navy, commanding the *Portsmouth*, then at Sausalito, received Todd and also José de la Rosa, who had been sent from Sonoma by Vallejo with a plea for Montgomery's authority or influence to save "the helpless inhabitants from violence and anarchy." Accordingly, Montgomery sent Lieut. John S. Missroon to Sonoma where he arrived with Todd on the sixteenth. Missroon obtained from Ide assurances and transmitted them to Alcalde Berreyesa and to the Vallejo family, thus allaying fears of violence. Complimenting the garrison on their orderly conduct, mediator Missroon departed and reported his findings to his commander.⁶⁵

Soon the Bear party was increased by additions of American settlers who had remained aloof, also settlers' families were brought to Sonoma for their protection. With Ide busy on his meditations and his paper work, including revisions and translations of his proclamation and arrangements for their distribution, the direct functions of providing for the common defense fell upon Lieutenant Ford.

On or about June 18, Ford sent Thomas Cowie and one Fowler to get a keg of powder from Fitch's rancho on Russian River, near the present Healdsburg. Spurning Ford's advice, the two took the usually traveled road. About two miles from Santa Rosa they were made prisoners by a band of

Californians, prominent among whom were Juan N. Padilla, Ramón Carrillo, and Bernardino García, also known as "Four-fingered (or Three-fingered) Jack." To García is attributed a statement of, and a principal part in, the atrocities which followed. Cowie and Fowler were put to death, and there is evidence of their torture before and mutilation of their bodies after the killings.⁶⁶

Also captured about this time were two other Bears, one of whom was Todd, on his way to Bodega on messenger service. Becoming concerned because of the failure of the four to return, Lieutenant Ford, on the night of June 20-21, sent Sergeant Gibson with four men to Fitch's to investigate. There Gibson got the powder, and on the way back, near Santa Rosa about daylight, he had a brush with three or four Mexicans, one of whom he captured. It was from this prisoner that the first news of the horrible fate of Cowie and Fowler was received.⁶⁷

Ford decided to rescue the prisoners still held by the Californians. Although it was believed that possibly sixty men might oppose them, a comparatively small party was determined upon. So many volunteered that it was decided to form the men in a single line and to have them count off by fives, thus selecting every fifth man. Let Baldrige tell his humorous story of the elimination:

I had the honor of standing at the head of the line, and a man by the name of Smith, usually known as Badger Smith, from the circumstance of his wearing a coat made of badger skins, stood at the other end of the line, who was a small, but muscular man and much disliked by all who knew him for the reason of his being greatly given to quarreling and fighting, but seemed to prefer fighting to any other kind of amusement. The order being given I of course was counted out first and looking down the line I saw Smith very energetically step forward to watch the proceedings with the most intense interest. And when the man next above him was counted out, and he being the only one left, he began to rave and declared that he would go anyhow. He did not walk, but jumped into the ranks with a bounce. He exclaimed that he would go or die, and he'd knock anyone down that should try to prevent him, advancing upon the men at the same time with drawn fist, and it was with much difficulty that we could preserve order and avoid a fight upon the spot. However Smith was pugnacious and obstreperous, to avoid further trouble he was allowed to go.

Although the matter was settled according to agreement Swift was not quite satisfied, so he in a very agreeable way requested some to withdraw and allow him to fill their place with those that he thought could perform the work better. And as we all had great confidence in Swift, and thought him worth a dozen common men in fight, and consequently a good judge of fighting men and as all concerned were desirous that, if a fight should take place the work should be done in the most efficacious [efficacious] manner, so those requested withdrew and Swift filled their place with men of his own choosing. So with two or three exceptions Ford and Swift had the men that they most preferred, Badger Smith being one of the exceptions.⁶⁸

Ford asserts that some time before departing he sent a message to Merritt, then at the Sacramento, telling of a report that Castro was crossing with troops at Carquinez Strait with the intention of attacking Sonoma, and re-

questing that Merritt come with a force to aid the garrison there. Ide's version of the message was that the message went to Frémont and showed lack of confidence "in the ability of Mr. Ide to manage matters at the fort at Sonoma."⁶⁹

Ford left Sonoma on the morning of June 23 with a party of about eighteen, taking Gibson's prisoner along. The camp of the Mexicans near Santa Rosa was found to have been vacated recently. Ford followed their trail, after destroying twelve or fifteen muskets found at a house in the vicinity, and arrived about sundown at one of Padilla's houses near Two Rock. Several Indians found there disclosed under duress that the Mexicans had left Padilla's about three hours earlier and would stop at the Laguna de San Antonio, a rancho which derived its name from a lagoon which was about five miles southwest of Petaluma. After a hasty meal of beef at Padilla's, the Bears then proceeded to a point about a half-mile from the lagoon, where they camped to await daylight. Next morning they "charged the place" and took four Mexicans as prisoners.⁷⁰

After breakfast, horses were changed, and Ford's effective strength was reduced to fourteen by the necessary detail of several men to guard prisoners and to drive the horses. Learning from the prisoners that the enemy did not exceed twenty-five, Ford pursued toward San Rafael and entered the rancho of Olompali, a grant made to the Indian, José Camilo Ynitia, in 1843.⁷¹

Nearing Camilo's adobe house, nearly four miles north of the present Novato, Ford saw a number of horses in the corral but only a few men nearby. Corralling his spare horses in a small canyon and forming his men into two "platoons," he promptly charged to secure fresh mounts. To his great surprise he saw more men among the trees, others came "pouring out of the house," and he was soon confronted with about forty-six of the enemy. Ford's serious situation was caused by the joining of Padilla's band with most of the force of about fifty under Joaquín de la Torre who, under orders from Castro, had crossed the bay from San Pablo on the twenty-third and had arrived at Camilo's this morning of the twenty-fourth.⁷²

Ford dismounted his men and ordered them to take cover among some nearby trees. The enemy, armed with muskets and lances, soon mounted and began an encircling charge which was met by the fire of Ford's "front rank." When the enemy broke, the "rear rank" fired, but at greater range. The Californians "kept skurrying about," firing at random, but did not attempt another charge. They then withdrew to a position on a hill out of effective range, and desultory firing from both sides continued for a while. Then, says Baldridge, "they simultaneously dashed off at great speed in the direction of San Rafael and the fight was ended."

Torre's verifiable casualties, most of which occurred at Ford's first volley, were Manuel Cantua killed and at least two wounded, Agaton Ruiz and probably the Indian, Isidoro. Others may have had slight wounds. Ruiz was

said to have been shot through the lungs by Swift, but was given medical aid on the *Portsmouth* and recovered. Ford later insisted that "by going to Camillo Rancho you now find the graves of the 8 men who were buried where they fell."⁷³ One writer attributes the excessive estimates of the number of Californians killed to the number of riderless horses seen.⁷⁴ No American casualties are mentioned by Ford or Baldrige. Ide says that Ford reported to him: "We have whipped them, and that without receiving a scratch."⁷⁵

The story of the fight would not be complete without Baldrige's account of the actions of the irrepressible "Badger" Smith. It appears that in Ford's rear initially, and not involved in his charge, were his prisoners and horse guards, among them George Williams, Thomas H. Burgess, and "Badger" Smith. These made a dash to join their comrades as the cordon of Californians was about to close. Says Baldrige:

Williams said he never was so frightened in his life as when several shots were fired at him and from the sound several balls passed within an inch of his head, and he looked each side of him to enable them to keep as near as possible in the center of the gap and hence as far as possible away from the enemy but was perfectly horrified just as they got between the wings to see Smith suddenly wheel his horse and start at full speed directly meeting the wing and yelling like a wild Indian. When the foremost man fired at him and missed him, he then wheeled his horse and Smith fired just as his side was turned to him putting the ball through the part of his body that was in the saddle, as he distinctly saw the blood gush out on either side as the man ran directly from him. After which Smith went to the front where he went in to the fight with perfect vengeance, his actions being so remarkable as to attract the attention of the whole company, who all agreed that there was not the slightest particle of fear in his nature, as he shouted and laugh heartily during the whole of the fight, and no one doubted that it was the most enjoyable treat of his life.⁷⁶

Todd, who had been taken prisoner by Padilla, was in the ranch house when the fight commenced. With him was another prisoner taken during Todd's captivity. Though not allowed to communicate with him, Todd believed his fellow prisoner to be an Englishman "and of little sense, for that reason." When the Californians rushed out of the house, Todd proposed escape, but his companion refused, whereupon Todd ran out and joined his comrades who were "so overjoyed at seeing him that nearly every man ran to shake hands with him notwithstanding it was right in the hottest of the fight."

The engagement at Olompali was a surprise for both Ford and Torre. Opposed by a mounted force practically triple his own, Lieutenant Ford's tactics in choosing dismounted defensive action, and his use of cover, were effective. Had he chosen otherwise, it is quite probable that he would have sustained a defeat and severe casualties such as Californians later inflicted on General Kearny at San Pascual and on Captain Burrass at Natividad.

Ford had accomplished his immediate mission. The situation with respect to Castro's forces was still obscure; possibly Sonoma was in danger. There

was little to be gained and probably much to be lost by a pursuit of Torre. For these reasons Ford returned to Sonoma with the rescued Todd and received a "very well done" from Captain Ide.

Stirred to action by Ford's message and other intelligence of Castro's impending attack, Frémont left his camp at Sinclair's on the American River June 23 en route for Sonoma. With him were his own party and a group of settlers, a total force of about ninety, described by James W. Marshall as follows:

There were Americans, French, English, Swiss, Poles, Russians, Prussians, Chilians, Germans, Greeks, Austrians, Pawnees, native Indians, etc. . . . Some wore the relics of their home spun garments, some relied on the antelope and the bear for their wardrobe, some lightly habited in buckskin leggins and a coat of war-paint and their weapons were equally various. There was the grim old hunter with his long heavy rifle, and the farmer with his double-barreled shotgun, the Indian with his bow and arrows, and others with horsepistols, revolvers, sabers, ship cutlasses, bowie knives and "pepper boxes" (Allen's revolvers) . . . Well if they whip this crowd they can beat all the world, for Castro will whip all nations, languages and tongues!⁷⁷

Captain Frémont arrived at Sonoma on the twenty-fifth, and left the following day for San Rafael with a force augmented to about 125 including Lieutenant Ford. With Frémont was Semple, who confessed to Ide that he had previously doubted the leadership in conduct of the enterprise "but since the event of the 24th [Olompali] he was willing to risk his life anywhere that such a man as Lieut. Ford might lead the way." About four in the afternoon the mission was reached and charged as usual, but it was found that Torre had decamped several hours previously. Frémont camped at the mission and the next day sent out scouts to locate Torre.⁷⁸

On June 28 occurred an event which reflected adversely on the conduct of the revolt and particularly upon Frémont, then in command. Ramón and Francisco de Haro, twin brothers, crossed by boat from San Pablo to the shore in the vicinity of San Rafael. One of these carried a message to Torre dealing, it seems, with plans for crossing the bay by additional Castro forces. José de los Santos Berreyesa accompanied the pair in order to visit his son, the alcalde at Sonoma. Their landing discovered, the three were shot to death by members of Frémont's party. It is doubtful whether this extreme action would have been taken but in retaliation for the previous torture and murders of Cowie and Fowler. Of course neither outrage was excusable.⁷⁹

Torre was in a desperate situation but was equal to the occasion. Frémont's scouts captured an Indian carrying a letter from Torre to Castro, telling of Torre's plan to attack Sonoma the next morning. The two intercepted letters were quite sufficient to cause Frémont to make a night march to Sonoma, contrary to the advice of Ford and Gillespie, who feared a ruse.⁸⁰

Somehow the Bears at Sonoma had heard of the expected attack. At dawn on the twenty-ninth an approaching force was heard, then seen. The alarm was given, posts manned, and lighted matches swung near the shotted can-

non. There were a few tense moments, broken by the cry of Ide from his vantage point: "Hold on! Hold on! 'Tis Frémont, 'tis Frémont."⁸¹

'Twas Frémont indeed—a tricked Frémont—who soon started back for San Rafael only to find that Torre had the same morning commandeered a launch of Captain William A. Richardson at Sausalito and had crossed the bay to San Pablo.⁸² The next day Castro's united force marched for Santa Clara. Frémont then made two small raids south of the bay.

From an elevated point on its south side, the entrance to the bay was overlooked by an ungarrisoned fortress, the Castillo de San Joaquín, completed in 1794, but since ravaged by the elements and in complete ruin. At the castillo were perhaps a half-score of cannon, some of which were of bronze cast in Lima, Peru, in the seventeenth century.⁸³ On July first, Frémont crossed a small party in a launch from the *Moscow*, whose captain, William D. Phelps, acted as pilot. Frémont spiked the guns at the fort without opposition and returned to the north shore.⁸⁴ For the aid furnished, Phelps later made a claim of \$10,000 but a claims board agreed with Gillespie that "the service would be well paid for at fifty dollars."⁸⁵ One statement asserts that Ford took part in the raid—on the castillo, that is, not on the Treasury.⁸⁶

The next day another party was sent to Yerba Buena to capture William S. Hinckley, the alcalde. It was found that Hinckley had died a few days before, so Robert Ridley, the harbor master, was taken instead and was sent to join Vallejo in captivity at Sutter's Fort.⁸⁷ Ford says that he dispatched Samuel Gibson in charge of the party; another account names Semple as its leader.⁸⁸

Frémont's force returned to Sonoma in time to join the garrison there in a celebration of the Fourth "in old independent style." The men were formed under arms, the Declaration of Independence was read, salutes were fired, and the day ended with a fandango.⁸⁹

The need was felt for joining the diverse elements of the revolt into an organized military force. A committee, consisting of Bidwell, Reading, and Ide, was formed to draft an organization plan. Bidwell's brief solution was selected by Frémont. It has not been preserved, but according to Bidwell its effect was as follows: "To be signed by all willing to prosecute the war already begun, to wit: the undersigned agree to organize and to remain in service as long as necessary for the purpose of gaining and maintaining the independence of California." The simple compact was signed by many present at Sonoma and later by others in the Sacramento Valley.⁹⁰

Four companies were then organized at Sonoma. One, consisting largely of Frémont's own exploring party, was probably under Richard Owens who is known to have commanded that company later. The three other companies were commanded by captains Ford, Grigsby, and Swift. These three were elected, but it is unlikely that Frémont countenanced a general election to determine the immediate leader of his own explorer group. Otherwise, the

men were allowed to decide which captain they desired to serve under. No evidence appears that the companies were given letter designations at the time. Frémont, rank not stated, was accorded and assumed leadership of the newly formed battalion, and Gillespie acted as adjutant.⁹¹

The effect of the elections and of the organization was to replace Ide completely. This seems unjust, for, when the Bear flag was raised at Sonoma, nominal leadership fell to this honest, devoted, and self-styled "captain-general," and was exercised by him until Frémont saw fit to emerge from his position in readiness to take Ide's place. However, Ide's fellows were the judges. They thought him eccentric and hence probably not well fitted for military command. Ide "attached himself" to the battalion for its first trip south.⁹²

Excepting Grigsby's company of about fifty, which remained as the Sonoma garrison, the battalion started on July 6 for the Sacramento Valley. Ford and Swift went by way of Berryessa Valley, where they unsuccessfully attempted to get more horses, while Frémont and the others took the usually traveled route via Soscol.⁹³ Two cannon which had been captured at Sonoma, some muskets, rifles, ammunition, and saddles were sent by wagons to Napa, thence by water on the seven-ton *Mermaid* to Sutter's Fort, where the vessel arrived at the landing in advance of Frémont. The crew made a Bear flag from their shirts, an action which much pleased Frémont when he arrived. William Russell, a member of the crew, tells of finding another "lone star" (Bear flag), converted from a Mexican flag, flying at the fort.⁹⁴ By July 10 the entire force, less Grigsby's, was assembled on the American River.

On July 7, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat, commanding the Pacific squadron, raised the American flag, after much irresolution, at Monterey. Under Sloat's orders, Captain Montgomery took similar action at Yerba Buena on the ninth; Lieut. Joseph W. Revere replaced the Bear flag with the Stars and Stripes at Sonoma on the same day; and on the eleventh the United States flag was hoisted over Sutter's Fort. Most of the Bears were ready and pleased to serve under the new authority, and thus ended the Bear Flag revolt.

The scope of the present work does not include an extended analysis of the Bear Flag revolt, of Frémont's conduct in California, or of operations for the further conquest of California. Much has been written in support or condemnation of the Bears and of Mexican rule in California. Bancroft, whose research was extensive and who was certainly no partisan of the Bears or of Frémont, admitted, "Rarely if ever has a filibuster revolt been conducted with so much moderation in respect of private rights." The present writer believes it possible and proper to hold a just regard for the sincerity and aggressiveness of the Bears, and at the same time to have a reasoned appreciation of the Californians' difficult position.

Ford's participation in the revolt was such as to merit and receive the approval of his comrades, as evidenced by his election as a company commander. That trust was continued by the United States authorities.

An analogy exists—with obvious differences of time, space, forces, and casualties involved—between the revolt in California and the fight for the independence of Texas. Had war between the United States and Mexico been much further delayed, San Francisco Bay or possibly a line farther south would have assumed an importance to the Bears and to the United States similar to that of the Nueces for those who fought under another lone star—that of the Texas Republic.

IV. WITH FREMONT'S BATTALION

Captain Ford was now a member of a larger unit which the course of events was to sweep into a still greater command. Obviously his name was to appear in the records less often than in accounts of the Bear Flag revolt, in which he was a leading participant. Therefore, while mentioning Ford when possible, the fortunes of Frémont's California Battalion will be followed in particular. Other related operations during the conquest of California will be sketched more briefly.

On July 9, 1846, Commodore Sloat called on Frémont to hurry to Monterey with at least a hundred men.⁹⁵ Frémont started on or about July 12 with some 160 men, at least double that number of horses, and a brass nine-pounder obtained from Sutter. William Russel's account is followed for some details of the march.⁹⁶ The San Joaquin was crossed somewhere south of its junction with the Merced. The men with their impedimenta were passed over in Frémont's rubber boat, and the horses were forced to swim. Moving via the "pass of San Juan," Frémont made a noon halt on July 17, about six miles from San Juan Bautista. He learned that Castro had left San Juan for the south, after burying eight cannon in a wheat field and concealing small arms about the mission. Frémont ordered the person in charge of the mission to have the arms "in sight when he got there."

When the battalion arrived at the mission that afternoon, "200 stand of arms stood against the wall of the house, on the outside." In the building were found nine kegs of powder. Some of the men began a hunt for more arms, and others were eating pears in the orchard when an alarm was given because of approaching horsemen. The battalion sprang to arms, but the horsemen proved to be friends. "They were Capt. [Daingerfield] Fauntleroy's Company of 'Leather A Dragoons,' as they were called from having leather upon the seats and knees of their pants." The American flag was raised at San Juan on July 17, similar action having been taken on the thirteenth by Thomas Fallon at San Jose.⁹⁷

Several witnesses tell of the impression made by Frémont and his men when they arrived at Monterey July 19. The accounts of Colton and Wal-

pole have been repeated often. Much less known is a letter of Lieut. James F. Schenck, U. S. navy, stating in part:

Capt. Fremont's party arrived here on Sunday last; his force has been swollen to 250 strong by the addition of two companies of volunteers, American California settlers. For a few days they were the grand attraction, not only to the officers of our own squadron, but more especially to the officers of the *Collingwood*, an English 80 gun ship. They are indeed fine specimens of the bone and sinew of our country, with the bold and reckless bearing which you would expect to meet with in men engaged in so hazardous and daring an enterprise. The effect of all this [was] increased by their dress—being entirely of buckskin—hunting shirt, trowsers and moccasins, armed with bowie knife, pistol and rifle. Their skillful performance with the rifle astonished us all, and made the English stare. Off hand, at 150 yards, 19 out of 20 [shots] would hit a dollar. This, I assure you, is no exaggeration; and you are at liberty to make the positive assertion and give me as your authority.⁹⁸

A small, but characteristic bit of the account of Lieutenant the Honorable Fred Walpole, Royal Navy, will suffice. It requires but little imagination to hear Walpole telling his brother officers of a contact had with one of Frémont's men: "One day returning from a ride a party of us were galloping hard in pursuit of a jackal, when a man rode up to us, an ill-looking little old fellow, and asked us who we were, adding 'I came up thinking you were Mexicans, to stop you; as you are not, you may proceed.' Fancy the fellow, six to one!"⁹⁹

Practically unknown are these quaint entries made in the journal of Mr. Clements R. Markham, a midshipman aged thirteen, on the *Collingwood*:

July 21st [1846]. Leave to go on shore. Copied some proclamations stuck on the barrack walls. I went up the hill to see Captain Fremont. At the entrance of his camp there was a sentry, and the camp covered about two acres of ground. In the middle was a small tent occupied by Fremont himself. Those of the trappers were all scattered about in different directions around it. I was introduced into his tent, and he offered me a seat on skins. He is a middle sized man with an aquiline nose, very piercing eyes, and hair parted amidships. [Here Mr. Markham repeats some stories told him by Frémont regarding his adventures in the mountains.] He had a beautiful rifle, and it was all inlaid with mother o' pearl, and he was guarded by the last of the Delaware Indians. I sat with him a whole half hour it must have been, and he was very kind. Then I went away into the woods to try and shoot quails. I saw a deer standing at gaze in the path, but he darted off like lightning. I shot two brace of quails, as large as partridges, with lovely tufts on their heads. When I got back, I had some bread and cheese at a shop kept by Mr. Watson. At sunset I went on board, after having spent a very happy day.

July 22d. Captain Fremont came on board to see the ship, and walked around with the captain, but only nodded at me.¹⁰⁰

Frémont and Gillespie were not able to impress Sloat with their reasons for their aggressive actions and current policies, so Sloat, still without news of a declaration of war against Mexico, had a change of mind and declined to receive the battalion in his command. However, Frémont soon found a more resolute champion in Sloat's successor, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who had arrived at Monterey July 15, and whom Sloat placed in command of the land forces on July 23. On the latter date Stockton incorporated

the battalion in his forces and appointed Frémont major and Gillespite adjutant with the rank of captain.¹⁰¹ Sloat soon left the coast, and Stockton then assumed command of the naval forces also.

The three companies of the battalion then at Monterey were those of Owens, Ford, and Swift, and there was a small artillery detachment under 2d Lieut. Alexis Godey. From later happenings it is gathered that the general sentiment of the volunteers at this time was for service without pay, at least not for the ten or eleven dollars per month offered.¹⁰² Bidwell, who says that Merritt was quartermaster, tells of the latter's qualifications for that office:

Merritt not being an adept in forms for he could neither read nor write, got some one to make out requisitions for him and in due time drew a considerable amount of money from Purser Speiden. The first thing he did was to fill the pockets of his buckskin pants and start out into the town to see if he could find anything to buy.

His first investment was in considerable whiskey for his personal use. It was my lot to meet him shortly after and found him very rich. Putting his hands into his pockets and bringing them out full of Mexican dollars he told me to take that and if I could find anything to buy it and come to him when I wanted more money and he would give me all I wanted for he had lots of it.¹⁰³

Soon came the bustle of preparation for the loading of the battalion on the *Cyane*, Capt. Samuel F. Dupont. On July 24 the unit was issued items of naval clothing by Purser William Speiden of the *Congress*. The number of any one item received did not exceed one hundred, so some frontier garb was continued in use by many of the men. The horses were left at Monterey. With 165 battalion personnel, their saddles and gear, the *Cyane* cleared the harbor at six o'clock on the evening of July 26, bound south. Captain Dupont tells of Frémont's excitement when, on the twenty-ninth, the lead showed only a slight clearance for the vessel as it crossed the bar into the harbor of San Diego.¹⁰⁴

(To be continued)

NOTES

37. The most complete published description of the Bear Flag revolt and allied matters is still that in Bancroft's *History of California*, V, 1-190. The lack of a separate, comprehensive account, embodying later research, will be met with the publication of a book in preparation by Dr. John A. Hussey. Henry L. Ford, MS "The Bear Flag Revolt" (CUB), written in 1851, is used extensively in this chapter with correction of some of Ford's dates.

38. 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Report 75, here cited as *Frémont's Calif. Claims*, pp. 12-13, 25-26, 29, 33-34, 38-40; Charles H. Sawyer, MS "Documents," pp. 36-37 (CUB); Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

39. John C. Frémont, *Memoirs of my Life* (New York, 1887), p. 460.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 502-509.

41. "Reminiscences of the Conquest," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., XVI, 562.

42. *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide* (probably Claremont, N. H., 1880), cited here as *Ide Biography*, pp. 48-49.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-19; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
44. *Ibid.*; Francisco Arce, MS "Memorias," pp. 52-54 (CUB).
45. *Monterey Californian*, Aug. 29, 1846; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Members of the party in pursuit of Arce are named in *Sacramento Mercury*, June 25, 1858, republished in *San Francisco Herald*, July 9, 1858. This is the earliest account found to mention Ford's dragoon service.
46. Pat McChristian, MS "Narrative," p. 3 (CUB); *History of Tehama County*, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 509.
47. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 715; MS "Bear Flag Papers," pp. 7, 18 (CUB); William F. Swasey, *Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland, 1891), pp. 13-15.
48. T. O. Larkin, MS "Official Correspondence," I, 131; II, 65 (CUB); *Monterey Californian*, Aug. 29, 1846; Arce, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55; Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 4. Thomas M. Hardy's bill for ferriage on June 11, 1846, in *Fort Sutter Papers* (Edward Eberstadt, pub., n.p., n.d.), No. 31. Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23, 37, tells of meeting John Grigsby and Thomas W. Bradley in Berryessa Valley (presently accepted spelling) when they were bound for Napa Valley in advance of Merritt's party, to warn the settlers. Difficulties of the route between Gordon's and the head of the Napa Valley are mentioned in Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., 1928), pp. 171-72, and William Russell (pseud. "Bear Flag") in *Napa County Reporter*, Feb. 23, 1861. According to Ide, Merritt's party stopped by the places of Gordon and a "Major Barnard," the latter probably confused with Elias Barnett. *Ide Biography*, pp. 20-21.
51. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 4; McChristian, *op. cit.*, p. 3; *Ide Biography*, pp. 120-21; Thomas Knight, "Statement," p. 8 (CUB); Harvey Porterfield, MS "Reminiscences" (CSMH). The names of some members of the "original Bear Party" remain in doubt. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 110, n. 21, for his list. Joseph Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849), p. 89, describes a rough and stony path, traveled by him in 1846, leading across a mountain between the Sonoma and Napa valleys. That route may have been the one used by the Bears.
52. Probably the best depiction of early Sonoma is the 1851 drawing by George Gibbs in *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.*, XCVII, No. 8, Pl. 12.
53. *Monterey Californian*, Sept. 5, 1846; M. G. Vallejo, MS "Historia de California," V, 111 (CUB).
54. "Bear Flag Papers," pp. 19-20, 60-61.
55. *Ide Biography*, pp. 124-25; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 113.
56. *Monterey Californian*, Sept. 5, 1846; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; *Ide Biography*, pp. 127-28; Mrs. F. H. Day, "Dr. Robert Semple," *The Hesperian*, III (1859), 388-89; "Bear Flag Papers," p. 13.
58. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 119-21.
59. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Todd, in letter, Jan. 11, 1878, to the *Los Angeles Express*, says that those who did the work on the flag were "Granville P. Swift, Peter Storm, Henry L. Ford and myself." Among the many references confirming Ford's claim that he suggested the grizzly for the flag, those seeming to show special insight, rather than mere repetition, are an anonymous article in the *Sacramento Mercury*, June 25, 1858, and a letter, W. M. Boggs to Marie Snyder, in *Weekly Expositor* (Sonoma), Feb. 3, 1905, in which Boggs states that the flag making was often discussed at his father's store by Todd, Swift, and Ford. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 146-50, discusses the Bear flag in great detail and gives its dimensions as about three feet hoist and five feet fly. The original Bear flag, received by

the Society of California Pioneers from the navy department in 1855, was destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906. A formalized version of the Bear flag was adopted as the state flag of California by act of its legislature approved Feb. 3, 1911. MS letter, John B. Weller, Sept. 8, 1855 (CSP); *California Blue Book* (1909), p. 20, note; *ibid.*, (1911), p. xiv.

60. Antioch *Ledger*, Aug. 15, 1874. Prominent "Osos" are listed in "Bear Flag Papers," p. 18.

61. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The *Solano Republican* (Suisun), March 24, 1870, credits the first raising of the flag to Granville P. Swift.

62. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Baldridge, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

63. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

64. *Ide Biography*, pp. 138-51.

65. "Bear Flag Papers," pp. 46-57. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

66. *Ibid.*; Monterey *Californian*, Sept. 12, 1846; Baldridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; 121 ND 204. Padilla was grantee of Roblar de la Misería in 1845 and claimant of Bolsa Tomales. Bernardino García was asserted to have been killed by a posse in pursuit of Joaquín Murieta in July 1853. San Francisco *Alta*, July 31, 1853.

67. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

68. Baldridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.

69. Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11; *Ide Biography*, p. 181.

70. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 9; 121 ND 111-14; Ford to Sam Brannan, MS letter, Feb. 8, 1854 (CSP).

71. Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," pp. 9-10.

72. The main accounts of the engagement at Olompali are in Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," pp. 9-10; Baldridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-71; Luis German, MS "Sucesos in California," pp. 18-20. The site of the skirmish and a large house which incorporates Camilo's adobe are now owned by the Society of Jesus.

73. Larkin, "Official Corres.," *op. cit.*, I, 125; Boggs in Napa *Register*, Apr. 13, 1872; Baldridge, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Ford to Brannan, Feb. 8, 1854.

74. San Francisco *Californian*, May 29, 1847.

75. *Ide Biography*, pp. 173-74.

76. Baldridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

77. San Jose *Pioneer*, June 7, 1879.

78. *Ide Biography*, p. 175; Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," p. 11.

79. Jasper O'Farrell, in Los Angeles *Star*, Sept. 27, 1856; Francisco Rico, MS "Memorias Historicas," pp. 19-23 (CUB); *Frémont's Calif. Claims*, p. 28.

80. Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," p. 11.

81. *Ide Biography*, pp. 187-90.

82. Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," p. 12; German, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

83. Douglas S. Watson, "San Francisco's Ancient Cannon," this *QUARTERLY*, XV, 58-69.

84. William D. Phelps, *Fore and Aft* (Boston, 1871), pp. 290-91. T. O. Larkin, "Documents," IV, 192 (CUB).

85. 34th Cong., 1st sess., S. *Ex. Doc.* 109, p. 71.

86. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.

87. Larkin "Documents," IV, 192.

88. Ford deposition, 357 ND 8; Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 294; *Californian*, Mar. 20, 1847.

89. Baldridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

90. John Bidwell, MS "California in 1841-8," pp. 171-74 (CUB).

91. *Ibid.*, p. 173; *Frémont's Calif. Claims*, pp. 28, 35; Baldridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco: Slocum and Bowen, 1881), p. 393.

94. *Napa County Register*, Feb. 23, 1861.
95. Frémont, *Memoirs*, pp. 530-31.
96. *Napa County Reporter*, Mar. 2, 1861.
97. *Ibid.*; Frederick Hall, *History of San Jose* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 151; 29th Cong., 2d sess., *H. Ex. Doc.* 4, p. 641.
98. *California Star*, July 3, 1847.
99. Frederick Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific* (London, 1849), II, 217-18.
100. Markham, MS "Journal Extract" (CUB).
101. Frémont, *Memoirs*, pp. 434-44.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 562.
103. John Bidwell, MS "California, 1841-8," p. 178 (CUB).
104. 34th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 109, p. 17; *Napa County Reporter*, Mar. 9, 1861; Samuel F. Dupont, *Extracts from Private Journal-Letters* (Wilmington, Del., 1885), pp. 34-37.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

ALDRICH, LORENZO D.

A Journal of the Overland Route to California & Gold Mines. Notes by Glen Dawson. Los Angeles, Printed by Saul and Lillian Marks at the Plantin Press, 1950. 108 p. fold. map. \$6.00.

AUSTIN, MARY

Mother of Felipe and Other Early Stories. Collected and edited by Franklin Walker. San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1950. 144 p. \$5.75. Sold only to members.

BEEBE, LUCIUS, and CHARLES CLEGG

Legends of the Comstock Lode. Oakland, Grahame H. Hardy, 1950. 79 p. illus. \$3.00.

BOOTH, ERNEST S.

Birds of the West. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950. xi, 402 p. illus. \$6.00.

CALIFORNIA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORY.

California Local History; a Centennial Bibliography. Ed. by Ethel Bluman and Mabel W. Thomas. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950. xvi, 576 p. \$10.00.

DUFFY, WARDEN CLINTON T.

The San Quentin Story, as told to Dean Jennings. Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1950. 253 p. \$2.75.

EYRE, ALICE

The Famous Fremonts and Their America. Los Angeles, Fine Arts Press, 1950. 400 p. illus., maps. \$5.00.

HOUSTON, ROBERT d'AURIA

This is Los Angeles; a Complete Guide Book. Los Angeles, D. D. Houston, 1950. 176 p. illus. \$1.25.

KIPP, J. B.

The Colorado River. Introd. and notes by Francis P. Farquhar. Los Angeles, Printed at the Private Press of Muir Dawson, 1950. 16 p. \$1.50.

LOUGHBOUROW, LEON L.

In Search of God's Gold. Richmond, Calif., Historical Society of the California Nevada Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, in Cooperation With the College of the Pacific, 1950. 313 p. plates. \$3.50. Available from the author, Box 1406, Richmond, California.

PEACOCK, WILLIAM

The Peacock Letters, April 7, 1850, to January 4, 1852; Fourteen Letters Written by William Peacock to his Wife Susan . . . Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin Pioneer & Historical Society, 1950. 32 p. ports. Price on application.

RIDDLE, KENYON

Record and maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail. Raton, N. M., 1950. 104 p. illus., 5 fold. maps. \$4.50.

WALKE, THOMAS

Thos. Walke's Letter from California (April 17, 1850) to his Father Anthony Walke of Chillicothe, Ohio. Chillicothe, Ohio, Privately Published, David K. Webb, 1950. 4 l. Available from Ross County Historical Society, 45 West Fifth Street, Chillicothe, Ohio.

WILSON, CAROL GREEN

Chinatown Quest; the Life Adventures of Donaldina Cameron. Rev. ed. Stanford, Stanford University Press, c1950. xiii, 197 p. illus. \$4.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

May 1, 1950, to July 31, 1950

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From AMERICAN FACTORS, LTD.—Simonds, William A. *Kamaaina—A Century in Hawaii*. Hawaii, American Factors, Limited, 1949.

From AN ANONYMOUS DONOR—Faculty Club, University of California, *Constitution and By-laws*, 1921; *U.S. Official Postal Guide*, July 1943; *Roster of State, County, City and Township Officials of the State of California . . .*, January 25, 1940; *Co-operative List of Periodical Literature in Libraries of Central California*, Berkeley, 1902; Rowell, Joseph C., *Classification*, Berkeley, 1894; *Fraternity Manual*, Berkeley, 1928; *Library of the University of California, Contents—Index*, Berkeley, 1889-90.

From THE BROOKLYN SAVINGS BANK—Its: *Old Brooklyn Heights, 1827-1927*, to Commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of The Brooklyn Savings Bank. [New York, The Bank, 1927].

From The FAMILY OF J. ROSS BROWNE—His: *A Dangerous Journey, California 1849*. Palo Alto, Arthur Lites Press, c1950.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—Gleason, H. P. [Report] *County of Alameda, California, Sheriff's Department*. [Oakland, Alameda County, 1950?]

From MRS. EDWARD L. DOHENY—*One Hundred Manuscripts and Books from the Estelle Doheny Collection in the Edward L. Doheny Memorial Library St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California*. Exhibited for the Zamorano Club, May 6, 1950. [Los Angeles, Anderson & Ritchie, 1950].

From MR. AUBREY DRURY—*The Tamalpais School for Boys*. Catalogue [1950-51] San Rafael, The School [1950].

From MR. ERIC FALCONER—E Clampus Vitus. *Credo Quia Absurdum*. Placerville, E C V, 1949.

From THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SAN FRANCISCO—Peterson, Louis A. *History Of the First Presbyterian Church*; "100 years in San Francisco" 1849-1949. [San Francisco, The Church, 1950].

From THE REVEREND MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.—His: "Junipero Serra, O.F.M., In the Light of Chronology and Geography (1713-1784)." Reprinted from *The Americas*, v. 6, no. 3, January 1950; and his: "Reply of Mission San Carlos Borromeo to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812, Concerning the Native Culture of the California Mission Indians." Reprinted from *The Americas*, v. 3, no. 4, April 1950.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—Forbes, Allan. *The Story of Clipper Ship Sailing Cards*. Worcester, Mass., American Antiquarian Society, 1950.

From MR. WILLIAM F. JONES—Purcell, Mae Fisher. *History of Contra Costa County*. Berkeley, Gillick Press, 1940.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Bynner, Witter, *Selected Poems*, New York, A. A. Knopf, 1943; *The Colophon*, v. 1, no. 3, Winter 1936, containing essay by Oscar Lewis; Adolphe de Castro, *Portrait of Ambrose Bierce*, New York, Century Co., c1929; Jones, Idwal, *Vines in the Sun*, New York, W. Morrow, 1949; Willison, Mary E., *Blue Distances*, [Sunland, Cecil L. Anderson, 1949]; Gertrude Atherton, Mary Austin, et al, *The Spinners' Book of Fiction*, San Francisco, Paul Elder, c1907.

From GEORGE H. KRESS, M.D.—California Medical Association. *California Medical-Economic Survey, 1934-1935*. San Francisco, California Medical Association, 1937.

From MISS ANNE APPLGATE KRUSE—Her: *Yoncalla, Home of the Eagles*. [Yoncalla, Drain Enterprise Print, 1950].

From MISS ANNE MARTIN—*Political History of Nevada*. Third ed., issued by John Koontz, Secretary of State. Carson City, State Print. Off., 1948.

From MR. CLARENCE STEWART PETERSON—His: *Swift County's First Pioneers*, [Minnesota Territorial Centennial] [n.p., 1949].

From MR. F. RAY RISDON—Paul, Almarin B. *A Letter From Gold Hill, Nevada, April 23, 1865*. [Los Angeles] Presented to F. Ray Risdon by Glen Dawson, 1950.

From MR. ANDREW F. ROLLE—*Handlist of an Exhibition of Great American Historical Documents, Manuscripts & Books . . .* February 23 to March 13, 1949. Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles [1949].

From THE SAN FRANCISCO COMMERCIAL CLUB—Its: *San Francisco Commercial Club, History, By-Laws, Roster*. San Francisco, The Club [1950].

From MR. TADEUSZ B. SPITZER—His: *World Trade Center in San Francisco*; Report of the Board of State Harbor Commissioners to the Legislature Pursuant to Assembly Concurrent Resolution no. 22. [Sacramento, State Print. Off., 1946].

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—California Library Association, *California Local History; a Centennial Bibliography*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950; Wilson, Carol Green, *Chinatown Quest; The Life Adventures of Donaldina Cameron*, Rev. ed. Stanford, Stanford University Press, c1950.

From MR. ROBERT TAFT—His: The Leslie Excursions of 1869 and 1877: Joseph Becker, Harry Ogden and Walter Yeager. Reprinted from the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18, no. 2, May 1950.

From THE TITLE INSURANCE AND TRUST COMPANY, LOS ANGELES—Robinson, W. W. *Santa Monica, a Calendar of Events in the Making of a City*. Los Angeles, Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1950.

From THE UNITED STATES LIBRARY OF CONGRESS—*Rules For Descriptive Cataloging in the Library of Congress*. Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress, 1949.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Bolton, Herbert E., *Coronado on The Turquoise Trail*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1949; Carr, Ezra S., *The Patrons of Husbandry on the Pacific Coast . . .* San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1875; Gilpin, William, *The Cosmopolitan Railway Compacting and Fusing Together all the World's Continents*, San Francisco, The History Company, 1890; Laroche, G. Abel., *Fables*, San Francisco, Henry Payot et Cie., Libraires-Editeurs, 1869, [Typography by Edward Bosqui]; Oraquill [pseud.], *Madame Jane Junk and Joe*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1876; Pfefferkorn, Ignaz, *Sonora, A Description of the Province*, tr. by Theodore E. Treutlein, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1949.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MISS MARGARET BACKRACH—San Francisco *Morning Call*, July 24, 1885.

From MR. H. COLLINS—Redding, Calif. *Record-Searchlight*, May 16, 1950.

From MRS. G. D. de BALAINE—Salinas *Index-Journal* December 10 and 12, 1928; San Francisco *Call* March 14, 1892; San Francisco *Chronicle* March 10, 1892.

From MRS. EMILIE DONALDSON—Collection of California and Nevada Newspapers relating to President U. S. Grant's visit to the Comstock Lode.

From MR. BENJAMIN DRAPER—*Pacific Discovery*, v. 3, no. 2, March-April 1950, containing his: "Where the Buffalo Roamed."

From MR. LOUIS L. STEIN, JR.—*California Demokrat*, June 10, 1894.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN—Account Book of Enright and Murphy [General Merchandise] Redwood City, July 15, 1859–November 12, 1860.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—Typewritten copy of the Autobiography of James R. MacDonald; Clifford, L. E., Windslab conditions at Echo Lake, California, Jan. 17, 1950.

From MRS. G. D. de BALAINE—Biographical sketch of Gallant Duncan Dickenson by Mrs. W. J. Hill.

From MISS MIRIAM ALLEN de FORD—Author's manuscript of the revised edition of her: *They Were San Franciscans*.

From MISS ANNE MARTIN—Collection of letters from prominent Californians.

From MRS. CATHERINE VETENGLE—Author's manuscripts of three poems by George Sterling, "Dirge from Lilith," "Love at Sunset," "Memory and Rain."

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. HENSLEY S. DAVIS—Photographs: Caswell Davis, Sarah Anne (White) Davis, Hensley S. Davis, Mary Helen (Seeley) Hensley, Samuel J. Hensley.

From MR. ROBERT DURDEN—Photograph of wave machine taken in 1942.

From MRS. WILLIAM R. JONES—Leather album of photographs of Nortonville, Contra Costa County, California, taken during the period of the operation of the Black Diamond Coal Mining Company.

From MR. E. C. LIPMAN—Photograph of Frederick L. Lipman.

From MR. LEWIS McCUE—Photograph of the old Palace Hotel Court.

From COL. FRED B. ROGERS—Photograph and clipping of the dedication of a bronze plaque commemorating the services of Capt. Henry L. Ford.

From THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS—Collection of miscellaneous California photographs taken about 1900.

From MR. WYLAND STANLEY—Lithographic map and views of Belvedere, Marin County, California, ca. 1892.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MISS MARGARET BACKRACH—Collection of campaign ribbons and souvenir buttons and medals.

From MR. W. HARLAND BOYD—Programs for the dedications of two California State Landmarks, Indian Wells and Tulamni at Buena Vista Lake.

From MRS. EMILIE DONALDSON—A fifty-cent note issued by Emperor Norton, dated July 3, 1872.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER—List of the children and grandchildren of Maria Antonia Lugo de Vallejo and Ygnacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo.

From MR. J. W. GERLACH—Hand forged scale, mining and railroad tools made and used at Iowa Hill during the gold rush days.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—Brochure of Salvati & Co., Venice, Italy, suppliers of the tiles used in the Memorial Church at Stanford University.

From MR. J. W. JOHNSON—Section of wire from the first successful telephone line from French Corral to Milton, Nevada County, California; Large photograph of Faucher Lake, Nevada County, California.

From LAUREL HILL CEMETERY ASSOCIATION—Tombstone of Charles P. Kimball.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR.—Two copies Souvenir program for the Fiftieth Anniversary Golden Jubilee and Shooting Festival of the San Francisco Schuetzen Verein . . . September 5, 1909.

From MRS. AMY R. RUSSELL—A quill pen, dated about 1830, with beaded letters "M. A. Waldegrave."

From MISS LOTTIE WOODS—Collection of programs, clippings, magazines, photographs.

Reviews of the June and September luncheons (see the Society's NOTES for those months) will be included under "Meetings" in the December 1950 QUARTERLY.

New Members

(June-August 1950)

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
Mrs. Frederick L. Lipman	Berkeley	Transfer of membership of F. L. Lipman
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. Hugh Brown	San Francisco	Henry C. Collins
Harry William Dahlberg	Stanford	Honor Award— Stanford University
William Durbrow	Grass Valley	Charles F. Lambert
Holmes L. Ellis	Whittier	Membership Committee
Miss Enola Flower	Sacramento	Miss Caroline Wenzel
Fresno County Free Library	Fresno	Membership Committee
Miss Shirley Frick	Mills College	Honor Award—Mills College
Weston Havens	Berkeley	Membership Committee
L. L. Henninger, M.D.	Pasadena	Charles Yale
Mrs. C. Parker Holt	Pebble Beach	Parker M. Holt
Rev. T. Christie Innes	San Francisco	Rev. Clifford M. Drury and Charles H. Pool
Mrs. Edna Kreyenhagen Lenzen	Los Altos	Mrs. May Merrill Miller
Samuel Lilienthal	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Miss Edell F. Little	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. George D. Lyman	San Francisco	Transfer of membership of Dr. George D. Lyman
Mrs. Frances Turner McBeth	Oakland	Membership Committee
Mrs. F. B. McKevitt	Vacaville	Mrs. Frank H. Buck
William L. McLaine	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Robert Cleland Mann	Oakland	Honor Award— University of California
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Raymond D. Williamson	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. Felicia M. Young	La Crescenta	Membership Committee

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Upon graduation from the University of California (B.S., 1931; M.S., 1934), J. W. Johnson worked on hydraulic research with the corps of engineers in Vicksburg, Miss., and with the soil conservation service in Washington, D.C. Since 1942, he has been on the faculty of the state university, first as assistant and now as associate professor of mechanical engineering, with emphasis on hydraulic engineering. Articles by Professor Johnson, pertaining to waves, beaches, surf, and the transportation of debris by flowing water, have appeared in the technical journals of the American Society of Civil Engineering and the American Geophysical Union.

For biographical note on Robert T. Legge, M.D., *see* this *QUARTERLY*, Dec. 1946, p. 381.

J. M. Scammell, colonel, California National Guard (Ret.), was graduated from the University of California in 1915, studied subsequently at Oxford University, and served as major, CMP, School of Military Government, University of Virginia. In the latter half of the 1930's, Colonel Scammell was associated with Luther Evans (now librarian of Congress), when Mr. Evans was directing the historical records survey of 1935-39. A companion piece by Colonel Scammell, relating the fortunes of early military units in northern California, is scheduled for publication in the *QUARTERLY* at a later date.

Clotilde Grunsky Taylor is the daughter of C. Ewald Grunsky, first city engineer of San Francisco and a member of the first Isthmian Canal Commission (created by Congress in 1899), whose father, Charles Grunsky, came to California via the Isthmus of Panama in 1849 and settled in Stockton. His wife was Clotilde Camerer Grunsky, who reached the coast in 1850 via Nicaragua. Mrs. Taylor's maternal grandfather was Aaron H. Powers of Fresno, a pioneer from Boston via the Horn in 1849, whose wife, Louisa, was the daughter of William Sweasey, leader of a wagon train to California in 1850 (*see* this *QUARTERLY*, June 1948, p. 189). Mrs. Taylor has been the recipient of many honors during her career: class medalist, University of California, 1914; past president, Business and Professional Women's Club; and consultant, from that organization, to the American delegation, United Nations conference, San Francisco, 1945. She is now Pacific Coast editor, *Electrical Merchandising*, McGraw Hill Publishing Co., and recently has been engaged in compiling material for a centennial booklet on the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Readers of the *Pony Express* will be familiar with the name of Enola Flower, whose poem, "Pine Needle Roads," was published in its issue of

January 1949. In prose, also, Miss Flower's work has been successful; her *Child's History of California* won the approval of the State Board of Education and was distributed as a text book to the schools of California.

Winner of the Society's award to the candidate from Mills College this year is Miss Shirley Frick, former pupil (1937-46) of Miss Burke's School in San Francisco. In June of the present year she graduated from Mills, and she has now entered Stanford University with the intention of obtaining an M.A. degree in American diplomatic history. Her vacations have been spent in traveling with her family throughout the United States, Canada, Europe, and the Far East, so that, on the geographic phases of her diplomatic studies, she will have plenty of first-hand acquaintance with continental configurations. Two more points of interest in Miss Frick's experiences should be mentioned: in 1945 she was one of the ushers at the United Nations conference in San Francisco; and, the same year, she won the *Time Magazine* contest, in her high school class, on the subject of current events. Miss Frick was elected to Phi Beta Kappa upon graduation from Mills College.

Five of the *great-grandparents* of Mrs. Howard M. Gunton (new member, June QUARTERLY)—namely, Consider Davis Mitchell and his wife Lavinia (Davis) Mitchell, who came to California in September 1850; Mary Jane (Fulkerson) Lewis, who came in August 1852; John Thomas Peter and his wife Elizabeth (Peter) Peter, arrivals in November 1853; and four of Mrs. Gunton's *grandparents*, namely, William McKendree Carson and his wife Mary Isabelle (Mitchell) Carson, he in July 1849 and she in September 1850; and Samuel Peter and his wife Anne Elizabeth (Lewis) Peter, she in August 1852 and he in 1853, possibly earlier—all these nine had established themselves on this western frontier and were forming a unique ancestral aggregation for Mrs. Gunton, even before the fittest in California were, themselves, sure of survival. On loan in the library of the Society is a scrapbook, compiled by Mrs. Gunton. It has particularly illuminating clippings and photographs about the members of her family.

Mrs. Edna Kreyenhagen Lenzen, a descendant of pioneer families in the San Joaquin Valley, was one of the pupils of Henry Morse Stephens, through whose efforts, as head of the state university's department of history in 1905, the purchase of the Bancroft Library was primarily due. While studying with Professor Stephens, Mrs. Lenzen's special field was French history. Now she is turning her attention and her training toward research in California history—to which, of course, as readers of the QUARTERLY have been often reminded, the French contributed greatly.

Samuel Lilienthal, president of the San Francisco firm of Haas Brothers (founded, by the way, in 1851), and director of another early California institution, the Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Co., is the grandson of

Louis Sloss, who came to California in July 1849. The extremely interesting record of this family has been published, under the title, *Ernest R. Lilienthal and His Family*, and is accessible in the collection of the Society.

Realizing that history is a study of the significance as well as the character of events, Miss Edell F. Little, executive director of the Visiting Nurse Association of Los Angeles, looks to history for a better understanding of what she calls "the distinctive problems of this community." Miss Little, who came to California in 1944, is a native of Detroit and a graduate of Western Reserve University (B.S. degree in nursing). With her interest in history thus reinforced by her professional aims, Miss Little is collecting Californiana; we feel sure that she will turn it to good account.

Mrs. Frances Turner McBeth's maternal grandfather, John R. Nickel, crossed the border into California from Oregon in 1855 and settled in Del Norte County, which, since it was here that she herself was born, has become the field of Mrs. McBeth's historical studies. She has written a booklet on the subject—*Lower Klamath Country*. Mrs. McBeth is a graduate of the San Jose Normal School, the alma mater, also, of her mother.

The paternal grandparents of Mrs. Milton Russell Richardson (new member, June QUARTERLY) were William Smith Kendall, M.D., of Canton, Illinois, and his wife Catherine, who came to California by way of Panama in 1856 and settled in Folsom—a growing town, founded the year before as the terminus of the Sacramento R. R. Here, in 1858, their son William Smith Kendall, Jr., was born. The doctor practiced his profession in Folsom until his death a few years later. Eventually the family settled in Sacramento, where they have banking interests, and farming interests in several of the nearby counties. Mrs. Richardson's husband is a native of Tennessee; her mother was Joanna Jefferson Jacobs, daughter of James Morgan of Lexington, Kentucky.

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Reorganized March 27, 1922

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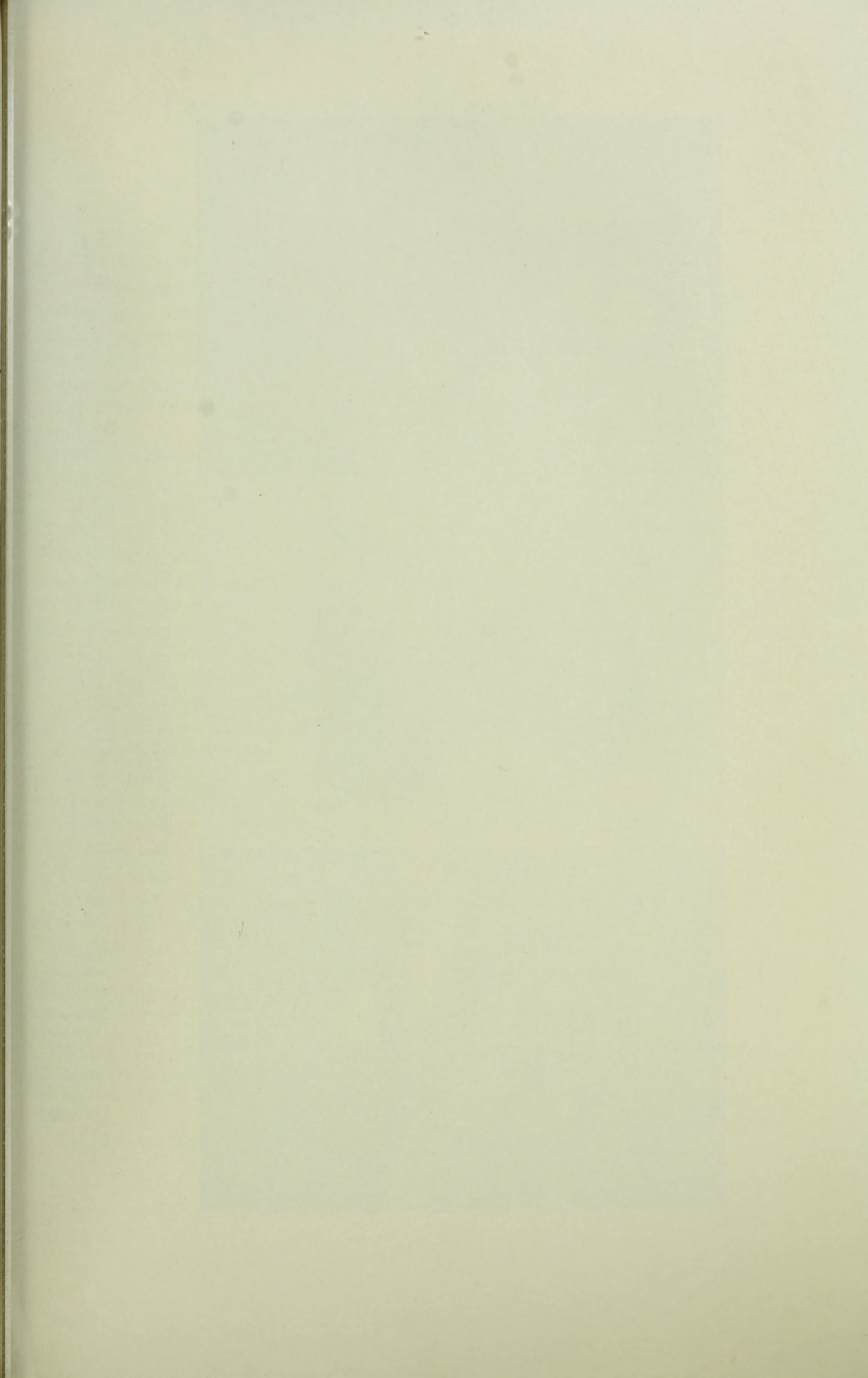
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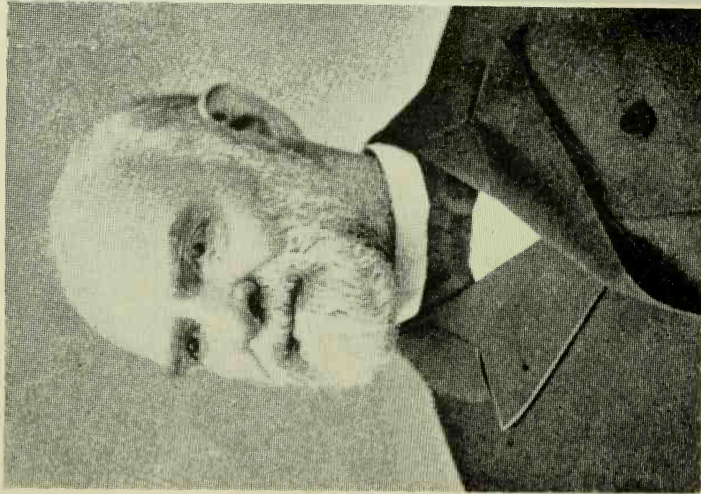
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MEN PROMINENT IN ORGANIZING THE SONS
OF REVOLUTIONARY SIREs

Left to right: James L. Cogswell, J. P. Daneron, A. M. Winn

California Society, Sons of the American Revolution

By W. W. WINN

ON May 13, 1783, the commissioned officers of George Washington's army organized the Society of the Cincinnati, membership in which was limited to themselves and their descendants. It did not flourish and for many years was practically inactive. Until 1876, no other state or national organization of Revolutionary War veterans or their descendants was in existence. But with the approach of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, strong patriotic enthusiasm began to manifest itself across the land. Centennial celebrations of various kinds were planned.

In San Francisco, on the evening of October 22, 1875, a half dozen men, whom he had invited to discuss with him plans for taking part in the Fourth of July procession in 1876, met in the office of James Lafayette Cogswell, D.D.S., at 230 Kearny Street. Besides Dr. Cogswell, these men were: Peter Wilkins Randle, Emory L. Willard, M.D., Joseph Reed, Ira Root, Richard Rush Randle, Maj. E. A. Sherman, and possibly one other, whose name was not recalled later. They voted to call themselves, "The National Society of Sons of Revolutionary Sires." Cogswell was elected president, Randle vice-president for California and Sherman vice-president for Nevada. This was the only meeting they ever held.

Throughout June 1876, the *Alta California*, a San Francisco newspaper, published articles on the interest that was developing in the community over the coming centennial observance of Fourth of July. Descriptions were given of street and store decorations, and notices were published calling upon various organizations to prepare for their parts in the procession. Gov. William Irwin had declared July third and fifth public holidays, as the celebration was planned to continue for three days. It was plain that strong public feeling existed.

In the *Alta California* of June 26, 1876, appeared an unsigned letter, part of which reads as follows:

Wouldn't it be a most novel but strikingly interesting idea in the programme of the procession for our City Centennial Celebration, to have represented our grandparents of the Revolution by the grandchildren now living, residents of this city? There might not be a single living son or daughter, but there might be a score or more of real grandchildren.

Wouldn't it be splendid if enough could be found to represent every state in the Union, to ride in a car large enough to carry them all, each one carrying a small flag with the name of the state he represents, and the car designated "The Revolutionary Grandchildren."

Taken as a whole, the letter constituted a powerful and striking appeal,

and it is regrettable that the writer's name is unknown, as its publication was undoubtedly the means of stirring up enough sentiment among descendants of Revolutionary patriots to lead to the formation of a lasting organization. When Dr. Cogswell read it, he wrote a notice which appeared in the June 27 issue of the paper.

Editor *Alta*: The idea suggested by the granddaughter of one of our Revolutionary sires seems a capital one; and as I belong in the same category with your correspondent, being the grandson of one of the Revolutionary heroes, I shall be happy to have all who belong to this class call at my office, No. 230 Kearny Street and organize for the occasion.
San Francisco, June 26, 1876 [SIGNED] J. L. COGSWELL

Some few called at the doctor's office and enrolled. Other men of Revolutionary descent were also aroused by the lady's letter, and at their request the following call was published in the *Alta California* of June 29, 1876:

1876

1876

ATTENTION! DESCENDANTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTS.

Headquarters Centennial Committee, 212 Kearny Street, San Francisco, June 28, 1876.

You are hereby requested to meet at the Headquarters of the Grand Marshal, 212 Kearny Street, at 8 o'clock P. M., on Thursday, June 29th for the purpose of making arrangements to participate in the celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Nation's Independence.

CHARLES L. WIGGIN

Chief of Staff to the Grand Marshal

Henry Hall, historian-general of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution from 1891 to 1897, in his *Year Book of Societies of Descendants of the Men of the Revolution*, published in New York in 1890, gives full credit to the California organization as the pioneer unit of The National Society of Sons of the American Revolution, and his account, written before the destruction of the records of the California Society by the San Francisco fire of 1906, is so complete in many respects that it has been an important source, with some condensation and paraphrasing, for the historical sketch which follows. (See also note on sources at the conclusion of this paper.)

Pursuant to call, a meeting was held on June 29, 1876. On motion of James P. Dameron, Gen. A. M. Winn was elected chairman and Dr. Emory L. Willard secretary. General Winn stated the object of the meeting as he understood it, but he said that he did not know the origin of the call. Dameron explained that he himself was one of those who had called the meeting. Thereupon it was resolved to organize as "Sons of Revolutionary Sires" for participation in the celebration, and the following persons were enrolled as original members:

A. M. Winn, 66 years old, grandson of William Winn, a Revolutionary soldier from Maryland.

Emory L. Willard, 55 years old, grandson of Abraham Willard, Surgeon from Massachusetts.

Caleb T. Fay, 55 years old, grandson of Francis Fay, Revolutionary soldier from Massachusetts.

Charles Siskron, 37 years old, grandson of Harvey Ellis, a Revolutionary soldier from Connecticut.

J. Doolittle, age 20, great grandson of Colonel Doolittle of Massachusetts.

John Paul Jones Davison, 87 years old, son of George W. Davison of Connecticut.

Joseph Sharon, 54 years old, grandson of Joseph Eaton, one of Morgan's riflemen.

H. T. Graves, 52 years old, grandson of Recompense Graves of New York.

Samuel Graves, 82 years old, soldier of 1812 and son of R. Graves of New York.

Augustus B. Graves, 44 years of age, grandson of R. Graves.

Dallas A. Kneass, 60 years of age, grandson of John Hart of New Jersey.

J. B. Worden, 41 years of age, grandson of Isaac Graham of New York, Surgeon.

William H. Mead, 42 years of age, grandson of John Paulding, one of the men who captured Andre.

W. B. Eastin, 37 years of age, grandson of Adjutant William Eastin from Virginia.

Z. K. Hersum, 46 years of age, grandson of David Hersum from Maine.

A. M. Seabury, 48 years of age, great grandson of David Seabury from Connecticut.

Thomas H. Greenough, 14 years of age, grandson of Jonathan Greenough from Maine.

J. P. Dameron, 92 years of age [this is an error in the original; Mr. Dameron was 48 years old], great-grandson of Joseph Dameron, North Carolina.

John Turner, 66 years of age, grandson of John Turner, who fell at Bunker Hill.

J. E. Clark, 51 years old, grandson of Ichabod Clark, New Jersey.

R. R. Strain, 72 years old, grandson of John Strain from Philadelphia.

Lawrence V. Hogeboom, 49 years of age, grandson of Jacob H. Hogeboom.

John N. Finch, 47 years of age, grandson of John Finch of New York.

Charles A. Seeley, 26 years old, great grandson of Captain Isaac Davis, first man killed at Concord, Mass.

James L. Cogswell, grandson of Amos Cogswell from Connecticut.

The roll was then called and corrected, and the chairman and secretary were directed to make the arrangements necessary for a parade.

On Saturday, July first, at the Palace Hotel, the newly formed association held a second meeting, Winn presiding and Willard acting as secretary. An invitation to join in the Fourth of July procession was read and accepted. Upon recommendation of the two officers above named, it was resolved that persons signing the roll and declaring upon honor that they were descendants of the Revolution should be constituted members. Election of permanent officers was deferred until after the Fourth. Dameron was, however, chosen treasurer-pro-tem; and Fay and Eastin were appointed assistant secretaries, to enroll the names of those present who were entitled to membership. The chairman was directed to procure carriages for the members on the Fourth. Eastin, Dameron, and Sharon were appointed to procure thirteen banners, representing the thirteen original states of the Union. Thirty-one additional names were enrolled, which are here omitted because of lack of space.

Tuesday, July 4, at 9:30 A.M., the Society met at the Palace Hotel. New names were enrolled, bringing the total membership (including many who had been added during the intervals between the meetings) to over 80. Among this number were ten actual sons of Revolutionary sires.

Lines having been formed after the meeting by William S. Moses, the

marshal, the detachment joined in the public procession in honor of the day. They attracted the attention of the whole city. Thirteen members carried shields (instead of banners, as originally planned), emblematic of the thirteen original states. In passing Folsom Street, the Society was presented with bouquets of flowers by Mrs. A. Dunlap, one of its "Ladies Auxiliary." The parade over and the marchers dismissed by the grand marshal, the descendants of the Revolution returned to the Palace Hotel, where Marshal Moses called them to order. Treasurer Dameron delivered an address, congratulating the members on the success of their efforts to commemorate the deeds of their ancestors. He was repeatedly applauded, and at the conclusion it was unanimously resolved to continue the association as a Society of Sons of Revolutionary Sires. Adjournment was taken for one week. Shortly afterwards, eighteen additional names, which are omitted here, were signed on the membership roll; other persons had been elected but their names were not formally affixed.

On July eleventh, a meeting, attended by about fifty persons, was held at Dashaway Hall for an election of officers. General Winn presided and made an address. On motion of Colonel Fay, the general was chosen president by acclamation. The complete list of officers was as follows: Gen. A. M. Winn, president; Col. Caleb T. Fay, vice-president; Samuel Graves, 2d vice-president; Ira C. Root, 3d vice-president; William B. Eastin, recording secretary; William H. Mead, financial secretary; James P. Dameron, treasurer; William S. Moses, marshal. Augustus C. Taylor, James N. Makins, and A. S. Iredale composed the executive committee. The officers were instructed to prepare a constitution and by-laws, and the meeting adjourned, the members re-assembling on August second at the Palace Hotel, when they heard the president read a report and the proposed constitution and by-laws, with a draught of articles of incorporation (the Society was never incorporated) which were adopted by unanimous vote. The officers did not have the practice of the Society of Cincinnati to guide them, so that their plan of organization presents interesting and original features. Portions of the report and accompanying documents are given below:

GENERAL WINN'S REPORT

Gentlemen: In the Revolutionary War, as in all others, when a battle is fought or some great deed of patriotism is accomplished, the commander or leader is recorded by name, while those of the rank and file are merely incidental. Perhaps their names are found on the Sergeant's roll, for the convenience of knowing whether they were present or absent; the roll wears out, the Sergeant is killed, or something else prevents the handing down of even the names of those who bared their breasts to storms of shot or shell, and lost their lives for their country's good.

A hundred years have passed since our grandfathers left their offices, fields and shops to win for posterity this glorious country; they are called patriotic

Revolutionary fathers, without a seeming thought that they had some other name like Washington, of which their descendants are just as proud as if they were titled heroes embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen.

In the very nature of things it could not be otherwise; the newspapers could not herald all of the men by name, and if they did so, the generals and leading officers were all the great mass of the people wanted to know about. But the mother knew her son fought and was killed; the wife knew that her husband had gone to the bloody field and did not return; she told it to her children, they told the same story to theirs, and so the deeds of private soldiers and officers of inferior rank have been handed down from mouth to ear for one hundred years.

It is natural that we should be proud of such ancestry. It is right that we should collect tradition and make history speak of the glorious deeds, sealed with the seal of patriotic blood. It is for this purpose we have organized the Sons of Revolutionary Sires. . . .

CONSTITUTION (in part)

Article I, Section 1: The name of this Society shall be "Sons of Revolutionary Sires."

Article I, Section 2: Its objects are, to unite the descendants of Revolutionary patriots; perpetuate the memory of those who took part in the American Revolution and maintained the independence of the United States of America; to promote social intercourse, mental improvement and mutual benefit of its members; to organize auxiliaries, co-equal branches and representative bodies, at such time and place as the Directors may determine.

Article III, Section 1: To be a member, the applicant must be a person of fair repute in society, and the regular descendant of a patriot who took part in the Revolution against England, which resulted in the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown October 19th, 1781, and the final establishment of the United States of America as a republic. Honorary members may be elected as the Society may determine.

Below are given selected portions from the BY-LAWS, dealing with the genealogical record and the seal.

Article XI, Section 1: The Board of Directors shall provide a well-bound book as a family record, in which the name of each Revolutionary patriot shall be entered, and the family line traced briefly to the member claiming him as an ancestor, after which the names, date and place of birth of the member's children shall be briefly entered, together with their places of residence, and all other historical particulars that may be necessary to keep a record for reference for future generations.

Article XII, Section 1: The seal shall be two inches and a quarter in diameter; around the edge a border of thirty-eight stars, representing the States now in the Union; next circle "Sons of Revolutionary Sires, organized July

4th, 1876"; inside of that, the segment of the globe with thirteen stars, representing the thirteen original States; on top of that a coiled rattlesnake with thirteen rattles, ready to strike; over that "One Hundred Years of Freedom", and beneath it, "Don't Tread on Me"; at the bottom of the globe segment, "United States of America", to be engraved on brass and set in a strong steel press.

A "Young Mens Auxiliary" was created; also, a "Ladies Auxiliary." The first officers of the latter were: Mrs. Maria D. Ayres, president; Mrs. Sarah R. Long, 1st vice-president; Mrs. Mary E. Woods, 2d vice-president; Miss Belle Johnson, 3d vice-president; Mrs. Ina E. Small, recording secretary; Miss Gertrude Seabury, financial secretary; Miss A. Dunlap, treasurer; Miss Mary Johnson, marshal. Members of the executive committee were Mrs. E. O. H. Boullet, Mrs. A. Dunlap, and Miss Julia Ayres.

On October 4, 1876, the Society held its third monthly meeting. The membership was given as 99, with 80 prospective members who had not yet signed the roll.

On October 19, 1876, the Society celebrated the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown by a public gathering at Union Hall, with an oration, a poem, and dancing. Large numbers of public men and civil and military officers attended.

A long series of public and private meetings followed those of the centennial year, and the Society adopted the device of issuing a printed bulletin after each important meeting. It contained an explanation of the objects of the Society and a report of its recent action; sometimes appeared a memorial notice of a deceased member. The bulletins were sent to prominent men all over the United States—public officials, historians, librarians, and men of Revolutionary ancestry. In the files of the California Society are a great mass of letters acknowledging receipt of these bulletins, most of them accompanied by expressions of interest.

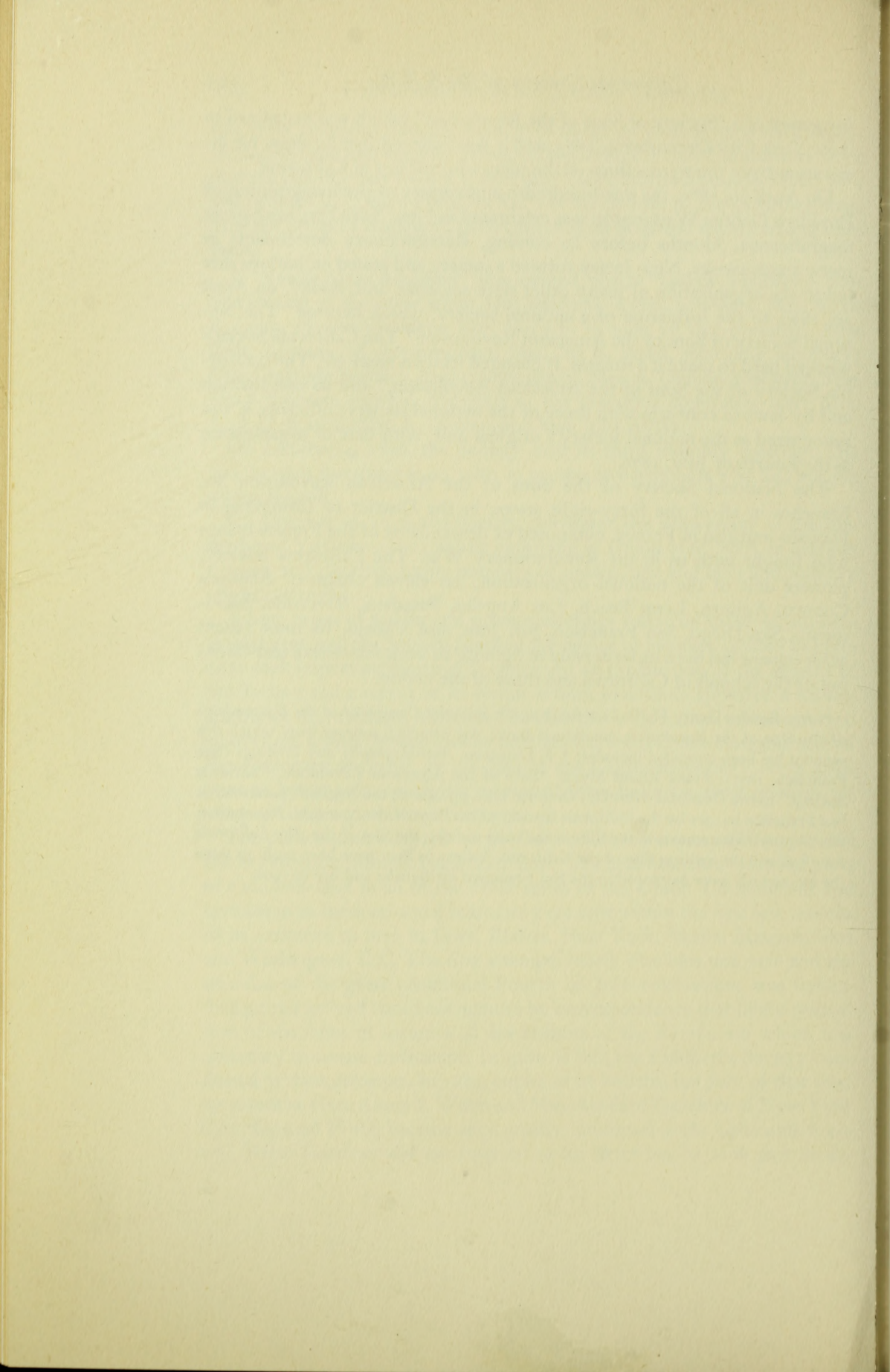
The constitution adopted by the Sons of Revolutionary Sires provided for its extension through organization of "co-equal branches" in other parts of California and in all of the other states of the Union. Commissions and invitations to form co-equal branches were sent within the first few months of its existence to men in Iowa, Illinois, New York, Maine, Massachusetts and Washington, D.C. The first attempts failed. The idea was new and the stimulus of the great centennial Fourth of July celebrations was fading. The parties invited could not acquire by correspondence that lively realization of the value of societies of descendants of the Revolution which was necessary to arouse enthusiasm. In spite of this, the California Society continued in these attempts. In 1882, copies of its bulletin for July of that year were sent to Gen. Alexis S. Webb and Maj. Asa Bird Gardiner of New York City. General Webb became very greatly interested in the California Society. Major Gardiner did not respond to his letter but he took part in the

formation of a "Society of Sons of the Revolution" which was organized in New York City December 4, 1883, and it was believed that he drew his inspiration from the transactions of the successful society in California.

On April 30, 1889, the one-hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of President George Washington was celebrated in New York City with great magnificence. Months before its coming, Revolutionary descendants in many states awoke. New Jersey formed a society and issued invitations that led to the organization of many other state societies, and, finally, on April 30, 1889, to the formation of a national society, which became "The National Society of Sons of the American Revolution." The California Society worked hard to make it a success. It changed its own name to "The California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution," and its constitution and by-laws to conform with those of the national society; officially it was recognized as the national society's original unit, with date of organization as the Fourth of July, 1876.

The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has branches in all of the forty-eight states, in the District of Columbia, in Hawaii—and also in France, composed of descendants of the French troops who fought with us in the Revolutionary War. The California Society, pioneer unit of the national organization, has eleven chapters: Alameda County, Auburn, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Riverside, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, and Vallejo. Its most recent achievement has been its leadership in fighting to keep subversive text-books out of the schools of California and those of the nation.

NOTE: Besides Henry Hall's *Year Book of the Societies Composed of the Descendants of the Men of the Revolution*, mentioned above, the principal sources from which this account has been compiled includes: J. P. Dameron, *Autobiography and Writings* (San Francisco, 1877); Frank Elliott Myers' "Sons of the American Revolution. California Society," in the *Overland Monthly*, October 1895, pp. 382 ff; the *Register*, published in San Francisco in 1901 by the California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution; Dr. Cogswell's statements in the files of the same society; the files of the *Alta California* for 1876; and the existing files of the California Society as they have been built up since the old records were destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906.



Noblet Herbert to Mrs. John Augustine Washington

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,

By JOHN A. WASHINGTON

NOBLET HERBERT'S brief life carried him from a childhood spent at Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, to a mysterious and violent death in the California gold fields. This, his only surviving letter, was written from Sutter's Hock Farm, near Marysville, to his aunt and foster mother, the dowager of Mount Vernon.

Both Noblet Herbert and his mother, Mary Lee Washington Herbert, were, in successive generations, orphans raised by an aunt and uncle who resided at Mount Vernon. After the death in 1802 of the childless General Washington's widow, his home passed to Justice Bushrod Washington (1762-1829) of the United States Supreme Court, son of the general's brother, John Augustine. Judge Washington had no children of his own, but assumed the care of the five orphans of his brother Corbin Washington (1764-1799). Mount Vernon was inherited by the eldest survivor of these five children, John Augustine Washington (1789-1832), to whose widow this letter is addressed. Another of Corbin's five children, Mary Lee Washington (c1794-1827), married Noblet Herbert of Alexandria, Virginia, and left two orphan sons, Bushrod and Noblet, Jr. (the writer of the letter) to the care of her brother John.

Upon reaching the age of twenty-one in 1810, John Augustine Washington established his residence in Jefferson County, in what is now the eastern panhandle of West Virginia, where he built a home called Blakeley. Noblet Herbert's childhood was divided between this western home, sixty miles from Mount Vernon, and the better known place on the Potomac. When the elder son, John Augustine Washington, Jr. (1821-1861), married in 1843, his mother, Mrs. Jane Washington, turned Mount Vernon over to him and spent thereafter most of her time with her younger son at Blakeley, where she received this letter. She kept, however, in constant touch with her son and West Ford, the plantation manager at Mount Vernon, and exercised considerable supervision over its management.

In 1849 Noblet Herbert, about twenty-five years old, joined a group of eighty Jefferson County young men in an expedition to California. The trip of the Charlestown (Va.) Mining Co. is graphically recounted in the diaries of two of its members, Vincent Geiger and Dr. Wakeman Bryarly, which may be found in David M. Potter, *Trail to California* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1945). After an unusually successful and fast trip, the company reached Johnson's ranch and separated.

Occasional glimpses of Herbert's life in California during the next three years appear in the *Reminiscences of a '49er* (Kansas City, 1908) by Edward W. McIlhany, one of Herbert's companions on the trip and in California. A group of nine (including Herbert, McIlhany, Blakemore, Bender, Thomas, and three Cunningham brothers; see notes 10, 13-16 below) left Johnson's ranch together, went up the Sacramento to Shasta, and, being dissatisfied with the mines there, came south on John Bidwell's advice to mine at Bidwell's Bar on Feather River. They then engaged in the American Bar project described in this letter, and Herbert spent the winter of 1850-1851 near Marysville. His life in 1851 is a blank, but he did not carry out his expressed intention to return to Virginia in 1851, for in the spring of 1852 he joined Blakemore and two Cunningham brothers in the purchase of a string of pack mules from McIlhany and Thomas. The Cunninghams were inactive partners; Blakemore returned to visit Virginia; and Herbert operated the pack train alone with the assistance of two Mexicans, Corralis and Joe.

In the early autumn of 1852 they were camped on a little stream a mile from Maj. John Bidwell's home at Chico. One day it was noticed that the men and two mules had disappeared, the other mules were running loose, and the camp, with everything there, had been burned. McIlhany and Thomas went to investigate, questioned the men who lived nearest the camp, had the creek dragged, but learned nothing. They and Blakemore believed that the Mexicans had robbed and murdered Herbert, disposed of his body, and left the country.

In January 1853, at Charlestown, Bushrod Herbert was appointed administrator of the estate of Noblet Herbert, deceased.

The letter, transcribed below, is printed as written with respect to spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, but words and phrases, crossed out by the original writer, have been omitted. At appropriate intervals, arbitrary paragraphing has been introduced. The manuscript is in the possession of Mrs. S. Walter Washington, of Charlestown.

A group portrait, painted about 1834, showing Mrs. John Augustine Washington, the recipient of this letter, her three children, and her nephew Noblet Herbert, is in the possession of the family of the late Lawrence Washington, of Washington, D. C. It has been reproduced in Charles Moore's *Family Life of George Washington*, Boston, 1926.

I wish to express my thanks to Mrs. John Russel Hastings of the Santa Barbara Historical Society for indispensable encouragement and assistance in the preparation of this letter for publication. Further information bearing on Noblet Herbert's life is eagerly solicited.

My dear Aunt¹

Near Marysville Decr 27th 50

I was in Onion Valley² when I received your very affectionate letter, (containing an account of the death of poor sister Maria³ which I was the

more distressed to hear as I was unable to bid her goodbye when I left home, however I feared from what uncle Bushrod⁴ said in his letter, which I received in April that she would hardly recover, she was truly a great loss to all her friends and especially her own family, it is most distressing to lose one's friends when so far away, and to be constantly expecting to hear of the death of some beloved friend makes one almost miserable.)

I should have answered your letter before but there was no opportunity for sending them from there and since I left there (in November) I have been so busy buying cattle to herd this winter and butcher next summer, besides having hurt my eye which prevented my being able to write that I really have not been able to do so until now, though I have made one or two attempts to do so.—

I will try and give you some little idea of what I have been about out here, the American Bar⁵ the great speculation in which we were engaged, on Feather River proved a failure and brought us all in debt owing to our not being able to collect any of the money which we had made of odd times by packing our mules, to pay for the provisions we used while at work on the race & dam for we turned five hundred yards of the river through a race so of course we had to go to work and make some money to pay our debts we went into the mountains to Onion Valley about six miles from the Nelson Creek⁶ which I see mentioned in the Free Press we mined some of us on a gulch near there call'd Poor Mans creek⁷ some on the great Rich Bar⁸ of Feather River some kept an eating house and herding ranche (a herding ranche is a place where *Gentlemens* mules are taken care of kept on good grass and brought to them when wanted. we butchered packed, traded, any thing at all we could make money at until in November signs of winter frightened us out not however before we had got out of debt and had made & collected some four or five hundred dollars apeice. among us.

while there, two grizzly bears were kill'd by hunters from the neighboring mines within fifty yards of our house⁹ Charley Cuninghams¹⁰ was among those who shot at them while the rest of us who had no guns kept out of the way some very amusing little scenes took place among us who had no guns to the no small amusement of the valiant hunters who however found it difficult to explain their positions after having fired their guns, some of them being seen on a large log pen which had been commenced for a house however I'll tell you all about these things when I get back it won't do to tell all our adventures before we get back or we wont be considered anything extra when we get home.

in Onion Valley there is snow all the year. when I went there I left a temperature of 118 to 120 Fahrenheit at Bidwells Bar¹¹ where I used to go to get loading for my pack mules, and slept where there was snow, several feet deep. I suppose from six to ten. within two hundred yards of our beds, in very heavy frosts out of doors and yet we were all comfortable until one

or two rainy nights in September came, after that we took our saddle blankets and made our selves a shelter by stretching them over a pole one end of which ran into the side of the hill the other was in a fork of another pole. It is right disagreeable sleeping out when it rains hard enough for a stream of cold water to cover the bottom blanket; until one is used to it. I have had to do it several times in California but it does not hurt me. I am hearty as a buck again.

Some Miners tried to winter near Onion Valley. I do not [know] how they will do. some have come out. they say it is too cold there to work. they came out on snow of which they could not judge the depth. we left Grass Valley¹² six miles this side in a snow storm, after that some packers ventured up, Blakemore¹³ & Bender¹⁴ two of our old mess took up a train Edward McIlhany¹⁵ and Charly Thomas¹⁶ two more of our mess took up another. they all got out safe but a poor spaniard lost all his mules I think forty of them.¹⁷ the snow fell so as to cover their backs in one night. another packer lost fifteen somewhere in the mountains. two or three trains have been lost in this way this fall.

Ever since August I have been within an hours walk of snow until November and now between Christmas and New Year I am laying in the warm sun out of doors the mosquitoes plaguing me so, I can hardly write and the nearest snow at least eighty or ninety miles off on the mountain yet still it is within sight and looks as if it was at least twenty feet deep.

yet great as is the difference in timperature it is not greater than the difference in the scenery, immediately around here it is a level plain about thirty miles across where when sitting on a horse you can see a band of 'mustangs in spanish a menage, or wild horses or perhaps a herd of wild cattle some three or four miles off. there were endless chains of mountains with Cliff rising above Cliff untill the most distant covered with snow seemed lost in the clouds with sides so steep that not even the soil can stay but washing away leaves the bare rock and great avalanches of snow sliding down sweep everything away taking acres of trees in their course. that is what the miners most fear in staying on these gulches in the winter; for the snow is hard enough to bear them anytime they may fall short for provisions.

but even here we will have our disagreeable weather after a while when the rainy season sets in. however we have a fine Antelope and some wild ducks in camp now, I dont think we will suffer, game is plenty here. I have seen a hundred (I suppose) Antelope in a gang. there is no end to the wild geese, though they are very wild, and a good many partridges,

we are camped within two miles of Capt. Sutter's¹⁸ dwelling. I suppose we may be call'd squatters. but he does not object to any one herding here I believe, He has a daughter but I guess there is no danger of my ever seeing her although I am sometimes down at or very near the house but the old man seems to have some notion of being aristocratic, from his having a notice up

that any one wishing to see him on business will please call at the secretary's office. but, the *dutch* sticks out in the way of roofs painted red, red gates, white palings with blue posts dwelling houses out houses & stabling all together &c

the old man has great influence over the Indians here, who are more like wild beasts than human beings, however they are friendly they live on a kind of cake made of acorns pounded up, ants, fishing worms &c together with what fish & game they can get they are quite expert at catching salmon, and it is a fact that they can dive unde the water and lariat them, (although the gentlemen at Clay Mont,¹⁹ thought it a fish story.) I have seen them dive down and catch them without anything. they are great packers the ma-ha-les or Squaws will carry two or three bushels of acorns for miles at quite a brisk walk and not seem to mind it. I have seen the men carry a sack of flour, 100 lbs. up mountains where it was considered a good mule load, on account of the road being so bad & steep. they sleep in a hole dug some four feet down into the ground with poles over the top and dirt over that, with a fire right in the middle of the floor. I don't know how they stand the smoke,

I am coming home next fall. I would have done so this fall but it was late before I could have come and then I could not collect all that was owing to me, &c & indeed a man seems too trifling to come to this country and not make more than four or five hundred dollars where I have hired out for \$12.00 after 11 AM. besides the promise of eight more, I have made here fifty or sixty dollars in a day, packing mules, but one can not always get enough of it to do,

when we were in Sacramento we got one or two old Charlestown papers it was quite a treat, but I hope now since we are near Marysville we will get our letters regularly and perhaps sometimes see a paper or so as the mails come there immediately after they are distributed at Sacramento, heretofore our letters have been miscarried both to and fro, I have received two from you since I have been in this country one was written before I left Missouri and one from Dick.²⁰

tell Dick I am going to answer his pretty soon, but not to wait as he has so much better fixings for writing than I have being destitute of chair table or any thing of the sort, I have to make down my bed in the sun to lie on & write on a wash board the bottom of a bucket or anything of the kind, I see no newspapers and he has a good chance to fill up his letter with what he can glean from them while I must write of Diggers (white & Indian) mules mountains &c

I was very sorry to hear in Augustine's²¹ letter that Dick had been troubled with the erysipelas. I hope he is well of it by this time, and that You are all of you enjoying good health, especially You, as young folks soon recover from a spell, which would go very hard with you! I was afraid when I heard

of the cholera in H Ferry²² that it would be in your neighbourhood and was very much relieved to hear that it had not. I think fear and irregular living cause half the deaths by that disease. It was very severe in Sacramento this fall. they said there were upwards of a hundred deaths a day there We were there soon after it had left the city

I saw Frank Washington²³ he looked thin but seemed to be in good spirits. I fear he is not so popular as he was he should have joined the squatters they are so much more numerous as to carry the elections, Dr Bryarly²⁴ the old company physician is said to be engaged to a lady in San Francisco, the rest of the company are scattered about everywhere some doing very well, the Moore's²⁵ are in Napir [Napa?] Valley they have taken up a ranche there are trading in stock and are doing well, Charley saw Jno Moore he said nothing about the death of Monroe Manning²⁶ and as they were together I suppose it is a mistake we had not heard of it then, but Charley afterwards got a letter from his wife mentioning it, Mr Aisquith²⁷ is to be in the Post Office I understand. Mr Lewis²⁸ of Jefferson ran for the legislature in Butte County in which we are living he might have been elected but did not come out in time.

Charley George²⁹ & I are together yet they are never very hearty but are much stouter now than they have been George was very low last spring with a cough I was afraid he would not recover at one time, & Charles was equally as low during the summer. I have been as hearty as a buck ever since last winter and walk sometimes from fifteen to twenty five miles a day with the pack mules over hills in places four or five miles high [?] and some of the way so steep you would hardly think a mule could go

indeed I have had the honor of rolling two mules down a place, one, went about a hundred yards and fetched up (as the sailors say) in the creek below, the other caught by a crowbar that was on her, one end caught against a tree the other against the side of the hill and held her until I got down unloosed her pack, & let her up, she was not hurt the other had some severe cuts we thought she would die but she got as well as ever no one would ever think now that she ever had a hurt in her life. I had to leave her in the creek all that night (the water was not deep enough to be in her way) and the next day two of us whipped her out, it looked cruel but it was better than to let her die down there, but the way bottles of pickles sugar rice &c were smashed up was curious, two bottles went down into the creek without breaking, of the rest—we could hardly find the peices,, the owners of the things lost them, we lost the packing on them, out here a man risks enough to risk his mules, the trails are so bad.

I suppose by this time Lizzie³⁰ can write & read though I fear not well enough to read this scrawl I have such a miserable pen, and I am copying this off now from a sheet which a mouse has spoilt for me. it also eat a hole in Charley Cuningham's letter to his wife which two offences would cause

his death if I could catch him, and Jack³¹ must be large enough to ride horse-back by this time if he can ride well enough to break mustangs and would learn to lariat wild cattle he would do well here, I am too prudent to trust my neck on them, I should like to see them very much And your two young ladies of whose personal appearance you speak so highly. Miss Annie Burnet, A³²—& miss W,³³ and indeed all of you.

Night coming on stopped me and for the last few days I have not been able to write. however it makes no difference as the mail does not go for some time yet, but it puts me out as I forget what I was going to say & That mouse has been killed, but still my letter seems to get a little dirtier every day, we have just had some rain I think the rainy season has commenced it keeps me more out watching the cattle for fear of their wandering off. during the storms, but still I am glad to see it, as it will start the grass. and I keep dry with a gum-blanket over me,

I suppose I should have gotten Dick's letter at the same time I got yours, but an accident happened to it which I thought would never happen to any of my letters it was taken out by another man a Mr Albert Herbert, I guess he is the only man out here who can come that near matching my name and he is a right clever fellow for he put it back in the P. Office again I was very much indebted to him I assure you. I got one from Augustine at the same time he writes a first rate letter too I wish I could send him such an answer as his deserved, two, sheets of paper all full no excuse about not having news, but he sent me as much as I could get out of half a dozen newspapers, besides telling me all about almost every one I know,

I hope you are pleased with your new pastor Mr. Tyng he must be an able man to be equal to Mr. Jones but you ought hardly to expect that.³⁴ there are no churches in this part of the country. I have been to hear preaching several times out doors. at our old claim we had an old gentleman working who used to preach every Sunday evening, but they are generally illiterate men somehow I believe no good preachers come here. I wonder none of the missionaries come here. I think there is as good a population here as in any of the states although they kill Captn Sutters wild cattle and make him say. it ish awful to see the shtealing that ish going on in tish country. the fact is it is very easy to steal here without being found out.

I dont believe there would be half as much rascality as there is if there was no law but the one we had when we came here at first, lynch law. before we went to Bidwell's Bar to live a man was whipped for stealing a pint of molasses so, that he died, that kept things pretty quiet for a while.

the mule I mentioned having rolled into the creek, threw me the other day skyhigh and the next day threw Charley Cuninghams just as pretty but did not hurt either of us. the crupper broke both times and a mule humps so, no one can ride one without a crupper,

I hope the crop of corn was good in Jefferson and that the wheat looks

well now there is no crop out here but grass. that I fear will be scarce next season although it does not make much difference to us there is always enough where we are going. Provisions are very low this season compared to what they were last flour and meal can be bought from 10c to 15 cents a pound and other things in about the same proportions but shot are worth two dollars a pound in Marysville on Salmon river flour is worth eight dollars a pound but no one can get there now, Hay sells well here if sold at the proper time which is when the grass is eaten off, so that the teams must be fed.

I should think beef would be high in the states so many cattle are required to supply the emigration and indeed it is one of the speculations I can think of to drive them out here such steers as could be bought in Illinois for ten dollars would bring a hundred here fat and it costs nothing to fatten them they have only to [b]e herded until the next summer, with good management a man would not lose more than one fourth at any rate and just see the profit with hardly any expense. the wild cattle here are nearly all killed off.

And now I must finish my letter I am well enough contented with the length but I fear you will not find it very interesting it is so unconnected too & so dirty that I am ashamed of it but it has been written at leisure times taking nearly a week to finish it just whenever I could get a chance, so you must excuse it and please dont show it to any one else (but burn it as soon as you have read it) of course I except Dick or Gus or any of the family. please give my love to *all* at Blakely C.Mont, R Woods³⁵ Dr Alexander³⁶ & his little family, & at Mt Vernon³⁷ when you write there; it would take too long to mention names. I think of all of you every day, & accept my best love to yourself Yrs

As ever

N. HERBERT

P S. please remember me to all the servants—

NOTES

1. Jane Charlotte Blackburn (1786-1855), daughter of Richard Scott Blackburn, of Rippon Lodge, Prince William County, Va., and Judith Ball, his first wife; she married John Augustine Washington (1789-1832), of Blakeley, Jefferson County, (West) Va., and Mount Vernon, Fairfax County, Va. (The reader might be reminded here that West Virginia was not separated from Virginia until 1863.)

2. Onion Valley, Plumas County, Calif., on a tributary of the middle fork of Feather River, a productive mining site north of Downieville. Gold was discovered there in July 1850, and by 1851 it had a population of 1500 miners. It became the center of supply for the camps at Poor Man's Creek, Hopkins Creek, Nelson Creek, and Rabbit Creek. Wild onions in the neighborhood gave the valley its name. (Phil Townsend Hanna, *Dictionary of California Place Names*, Los Angeles, 1946, p. 198.)

3. "Sister Maria" was not a blood sister, but the first cousin and foster sister of the writer of the letter. Anne Maria Thomasina Blackburn Washington (1817-1850) married

in 1833 Dr. William Fontaine Alexander and died of tuberculosis, leaving six children.

4. "Uncle Bushrod" was Bushrod Corbin Washington (1790-1851), brother of John Augustine Washington and Mary Lee Washington Herbert. He married Anne Maria Thomasina Blackburn, sister of his brother's wife, and resided at Claymont, a large house within sight of his brother's place, "Blakeley," in Jefferson County, (West) Va.

5. At American Bar, a group of miners, including Herbert, built a race to divert the Feather River and work the bed. The night before their plan was to be put into operation, the wing dam washed out, as a result of three days of heavy rain during Sept. 1850, and "everything went rushing down the river." The miners, too discouraged to repeat the months of work, scattered. American Bar was forty miles above Bidwell's Bar; it was chosen because of the popular belief that gold found lower down the river had been washed from some richer and higher place. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), VI, 354, note 17, credits it with a yield of \$3,000,000. While the place does not persist, it appears to have been in the immediate vicinity of Rich Bar (now Rich), Plumas County, on the east branch of the north fork of the Feather. (Edward W. McIlhany, *Recollections of a '49er*, Kansas City, 1908, pp. 43-44; *History of Plumas, Lassen, and Sierra Counties*, San Francisco: Farriss and Smith, 1882, p. 247.)

6. Nelson Creek was a rich mining district, seven miles (according to McIlhany, *op. cit.*, p. 80) back in the mountains from Onion Valley. It was discovered in June 1850. (*History of Plumas . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.)

7. Poorman's Creek was three miles east of Onion Valley. Gold was likewise discovered there in June 1850. These creeks empty into the middle fork of Feather River. (*Ibid.*, p. 151.)

8. The Rich Bar mentioned here seems to be the one on the middle fork of Feather River, where gold was discovered in June 1850, and is to be distinguished from the better-remembered Rich Bar (see note 5 above), on the east branch of the north fork of the Feather, where gold was discovered July 1, 1850. (*Ibid.*, pp. 151, 246, 288).

9. See vivid account of this encounter in McIlhany, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55.

10. Charles Edward Cunningham, George Farley Cunningham, and James Cunningham, Jr., three sons of James and Catherine Campbell Cunningham of "Richlands," Frederick County, Md., across the Potomac from Charlestown, were among Herbert's mess of nine members which left the company when it dissolved in September 1849. James died at American Bar in 1850; the other two returned to Virginia, and Charles later settled in Missouri. They had a sister, Rebecca Janet Cunningham (1820-1890), who, in 1839, married (as her first husband) a first cousin of Herbert's, Thomas Blackburn Washington (1812-1854), only son of Bushrod Corbin Washington (1790-1851) of Claymont. (See note 4 above; also Horace E. Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies*, Wilkes-Barre, Penn., 1891, p. 165; and David M. Potter, *Trail to California*, New Haven, 1945, pp. 63 and 223.)

11. At Bidwell's Bar on Feather River, Maj. John Bidwell mined in 1848. On his advice, Noblet Herbert and his companions went there in the fall of 1849. It was the supply point for the territory on Feather River which included their American Bar project. (See note 5 above; also McIlhany, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 and 44.)

12. "Little" Grass Valley in Plumas County was the end of the wagon road thirty-five miles from Marysville. Here in 1850 goods were transferred to mules to go into Onion Valley, which, according to McIlhany (*op. cit.*, p. 95), was twelve miles further. It is to be distinguished from the present town of Grass Valley, to the south in Nevada County.

13. Robert M. Blakemore, of Jefferson County, was a member of Herbert's mess from the Charlestown Mining Co. With Herbert and the Cunninghams he bought a pack train of mules from McIlhany and Thomas, which Herbert was operating at the time of his disappearance. Blakemore returned to Virginia in 1865 and died of yellow fever in New

Orleans in 1866. Fenton B. Whiting, a native of Jefferson County, (West) Va., who was clerk-of-court of Plumas County for many years, apparently was responsible for the following estimate (*History of Plumas . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 250): "Among the thousands whom the golden magnet drew to this coast, none had more true nobility of character than Blakemore." (McIlhany, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 and 146; Potter, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 223.)

14. Jacob Bender, a member of the Charlestown Co. (Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 223.)

15. Edward Washington McIlhany (1828-ca 1908), son of Mortimer and Mary Ann Washington McIlhany, of "Rosewood," near Hillsboro, Loudoun County, Va., later of Montgomery County, Mo., was the author of the *Reminiscences of a '49er*, frequently mentioned here. He later became a cattle dealer in Kansas City. His mother belonged to a family of Washingtons not related to Noblet Herbert's mother. (Hugh Milton McIlhany, Jr., *Some Virginia Families*, Staunton, 1903.)

16. Charles G. Thomas, of the Charlestown Co., was a member of the California legislature in 1852, became a mining engineer in Nevada, and never returned to Virginia. (McIlhany, *op. cit.*, p. 153; *History of Plumas . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 293.)

17. This incident is described more fully in McIlhany, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-62.

18. In 1850, Sutter took up residence at his Hock Farm, five miles south of Marysville, on the west side of Feather River. (John P. Zollinger, *Sutter*, New York & London, 1939, pp. 217 and 290; see also *History of Plumas . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 108.)

19. Clay Mont, more commonly Claymont (see note 4 above). The closest intimacy existed between the families of Noblet Herbert's two uncles of Blakeley and Claymont. Noblet seems to have been raised chiefly by the Blakeley-Mount Vernon family after his parents' deaths; his brother, Bushrod Herbert, at Claymont.

20. Richard Scott Blackburn Washington (1822-1910) of Blakeley, first cousin and foster brother of Noblet Herbert, and a son of the recipient of this letter.

21. John Augustine Washington (1821-1861), brother of R. S. B. Washington (note 20 above). He was married and living at Mount Vernon at this time.

22. Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, (West) Va., seven miles from Charlestown and eleven from Blakeley, later became famous as the site of John Brown's raid. Virginia, Maryland, and West Virginia meet there, where the Shenandoah River empties into the Potomac.

23. Benjamin Franklin Washington (1820-1872), a third cousin of Noblet Herbert, of Cedar Lawn, Jefferson County, was president of the Charlestown Mining Co., and later collector-of-the port of San Francisco.

24. Dr. Wakeman Bryarly (1820-1869) of Baltimore kept a diary of the Charlestown Co.'s expedition to California in 1849 which has been edited by David M. Potter (see note 10 above for full citation). If Bryarly was engaged at this time, he did not marry the lady (*ibid.*, p. 65).

25. Henry, James, John, and Thomas Moore, four brothers from Harpers Ferry, were members of the Charlestown Co. (*Ibid.*, p. 224; also *History of Plumas . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 206.)

26. Monroe Manning was not a member of the Charlestown Co. and has not been identified.

27. Edward M. Aisquith of Charlestown was treasurer of the Charlestown Co. (Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 223.)

28. Joseph E. N. Lewis, a lawyer and third commander of the Charlestown Co., resided in Butte County, Calif. (which in 1850 included the present Plumas County). He was a county judge and state senator. (*History of Plumas . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 181; see also Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 223.)

29. Charles and George are the two Cunninghams (note 10 above).

30. Lizzie is Elizabeth Clemson Washington (1845-1911), a daughter of Noblet Her-

bert's cousin Richard (note 20 above) and his wife Christian Maria, née Washington. She was a granddaughter of the recipient of the letter.

31. "Jack" is John Augustine Washington (1847-1923), brother of Lizzie.

32. "Miss Annie Burnet, A" was Ann Burnett Alexander (1848-1864), daughter of Anne M. T. B. Washington (note 3 above) and granddaughter of the recipient of the letter.

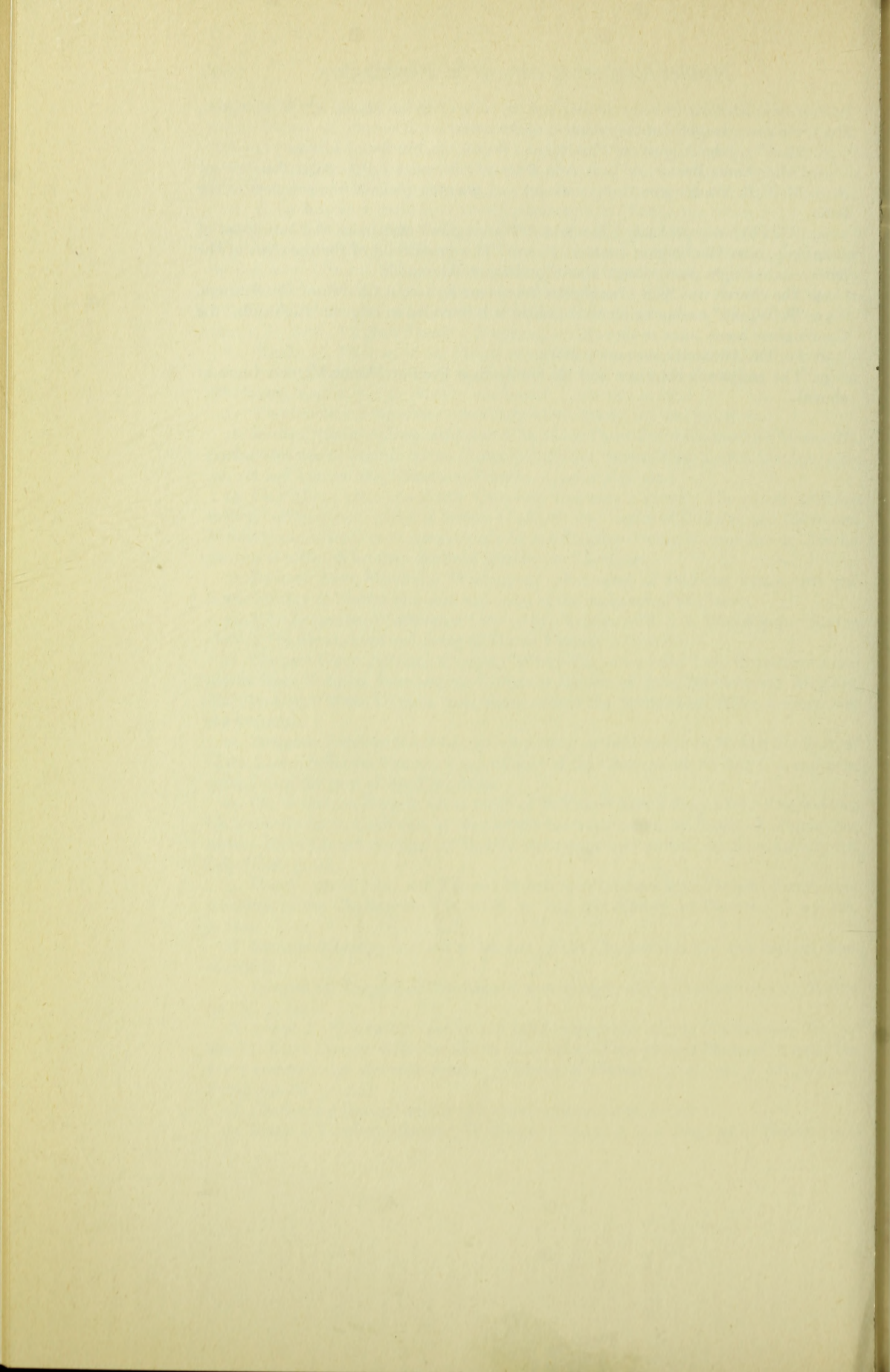
33. "Miss W" was probably Eliza Selden Washington (1848-1909), third daughter of John Augustine Washington (note 21 above). This grandchild of the recipient of the letter was just eight days younger than Ann Burnett Alexander.

34. The church was Zion Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church of Charlestown.

35. "R. Woods" cannot be identified unless it is intended to refer to "Richlands," the Cunningham home (note 10 above).

36. For Dr. Alexander, see note 3 above.

37. The recipient's elder son and his family then lived at Mount Vernon (note 21 above).



Salvador Vallejo

By MYRTLE M. MCKITTRICK

PARTICIPATING as captain of a company of soldiers in the original (1769) Serra expedition was Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who, five years later, was named military commander of the province of Alta California. In September 1774, he was joined by a new recruit from Jalisco, Mexico, bearing the name of Ignacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo.¹ The arrival of this youth marked the beginning of a family history that has been linked with the history of California for 175 years. He had been schooled for the priesthood but had rebelled at the last moment; in fact, he had bolted through the sacristy door to escape, with the aid of friends, to the port of Compostela where he remained in hiding until the chance came to exchange his fugitive status for a military career in an obscure outpost of Spain's new-world empire.²

Although he was already twenty-six years of age when he reached California, Ignacio Vallejo seems to have been in no hurry to assume family responsibilities, for in 1776, in San Luis Obispo, he chose as his wife María Antonia Lugo on the day of her birth and was content to wait until 1790 when she would be of marriageable age—and he would be forty-two. Their home was established in Monterey.³

Most famous of the children of Ignacio and María Antonia Vallejo was Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who early won a place of prominence in California history as director of colonization, and as defender of the northern frontier when the Russian settlement north of San Francisco Bay threatened the security of Spanish California. His older brother, José de Jesús, was well known among the residents of San Jose; as *comisionado* of the Mission San Jose, he is frequently mentioned in contemporary chronicles. But it is with their younger brother, Salvador, that we are concerned in this paper. As may happen to younger brothers, Salvador's contribution to California's development has not always been recognized, because he lived somewhat in the shadow of his more illustrious brother. It was in keeping with the normal Spanish tradition that he should do so; older sons were expected to exercise at least a measure of dominance.

José Manuel Salvador Vallejo was born January 1, 1814, in the little capital city of Monterey in the province of Upper California. He was the eleventh of thirteen children and was named for his maternal grandfather, Francisco Salvador Lugo, as well as for his uncle, his mother's brother Salvador, who was killed, when but a lad, by falling from his horse. When Salvador was four, there occurred the attack (Nov. 20-27, 1818) upon Monterey by Hypolyte de Bouchard, a former pirate from Buenos Aires, whose operations were part of the campaigns for independence from Spain launched by Simón

Bolívar in South America. California was known to be loyal to Spain, and hence a fair target for attack—practically, it might be remarked, on the Vallejos' doorstep.⁴

Of his boyhood, Salvador tells that he learned to read and write in a private school with an enrollment of about sixty boys. It was taught by José Peña and Manuel Toca, who, though far from scholars in the modern sense, achieved considerable success, according to Salvador, if judged by the ultimate accomplishment of many of their students. He also took music lessons from a talented Indian named Cantor, and as long as he lived he liked to sing the ancient ballads which Cantor had taught him.⁵ The following paragraph gives an idea of the training of a young caballero. It was written by Salvador's niece, Guadalupe Vallejo, daughter of José de Jesús Vallejo.

An educated young gentleman was well skilled in many arts and handicrafts. He could ride, of course, as well as the best cowboy of the Southwest, and with more grace; and he could throw the lasso so expertly that I have never heard of any American who was able to equal it. He could also make soap, pottery, and bricks, burn lime, tan hides, cut out and put together a pair of shoes, make candles, roll cigars, and do a great number of things that belong to different trades.⁶

At one time or another, Salvador made use of this training. He seems to have inherited, too, many of his father's qualities of ruggedness and strong will, and he was competent and honorable. His school days over, Salvador turned to farming, taking over the management of lands belonging to his father; but he soon gave up this pursuit to enter the army as aide-de-camp to his brother, Mariano, who was now an officer in the Mexican army.⁷ At the age of twenty, Salvador received his first recorded assignment from Mariano. The latter had married Francisca, the daughter of Joaquín Carrillo and María Ignacia López de Carrillo, in San Diego, and had left her in the south when he was abruptly transferred by Gov. José María Echeandia to San Francisco, the northernmost outpost of Alta California. Unable, himself, to make the long trip back to San Diego, to escort his wife north, Mariano dispatched his brother, Salvador. This delighted Salvador, who, on some unrecorded date, had met Francisca's sister, María de la Luz. And so, early in the spring of 1833, Francisca, riding an easy-paced burro, was escorted by her brother-in-law and his twenty young troopers, in their blue and scarlet uniforms, from mission to mission along the Camino Real.⁸ Having delivered her safely to her husband, Salvador appears to have remained in the north.

Gov. José Figueroa, worried over the intentions of the Russians at Fort Ross, sought to develop the area north of San Francisco Bay in order to reinforce Mexico's claim to it. He sent, as his emissary to Fort Ross, Mariano G. Vallejo, then commanding the San Francisco presidio, that he might see at first hand the Russian settlements.⁹ Figueroa authorized him to establish pueblos near Santa Rosa and Petaluma, and appointed him administrator at Mission San Francisco Solano, which had been secularized in 1834. The dis-

charge of these duties brought Mariano into contact with the north-bay Indians, resulting in an alliance with the powerful Suisu-ns (considered by Vallejo as superior to other California tribes), but alienating the Satiyomis, who lived west of the Suisu-ns in the Santa Rosa-Mendocino regions.

As a result of this alliance, it was necessary to launch an early campaign against the hostile Satiyomis. After a successful preliminary encounter, Salvador Vallejo, although "badly bruised" in the first phase of the battle, pursued the enemy northward to the borders of present-day Mendocino County, where the Satiyomis rejected a proffered peace. Mariano recognized the critical nature of his forces' situation. They were far from their home base, and were dependent for supplies upon their untested allies, the Suisu-ns. He therefore dispatched a messenger, brother of Chief Solano of the Suisu-ns, to Governor Figueroa, who came in person with a body of troops to reinforce the provincial army and seal the victory.¹⁰

In June 1835, Mariano Vallejo launched a new enterprise. With a measure of pomp, calculated to strengthen his alliance with the Suisu-ns, attract support from wavering tribes, and impress the still-hostile Satiyomis, he chose as center of operations Mission San Francisco Solano, which was situated within the Suisun sphere of influence, and whose buildings could afford shelter for his family and for the soldiers and colonists who were to accompany him.¹¹

The first mention of Salvador in connection with the new settlement was in the Indian campaign of the late fall of 1835. Indian hostility had been a major factor in the failure of earlier colonization plans, and when scouts informed Mariano Vallejo that bands of Yolos from the north were raiding the newly established ranchos and stealing cattle, he organized, with the aid of Salvador, an expedition to put an end to these depredations. The force was composed of sixty Spanish Californians, twenty-two foreigners, and 200 Indian auxiliaries under Chief Solano. The campaign was successful, Solano and his Indians fighting with hardihood alongside the Vallejo forces. But peace was far from established on the northern frontier.¹² Again it was the Satiyomis, who had come to be known as "Guapos" ("braves"), that caused the trouble. And again, the two Vallejo brothers shared honors in the campaign which was fought in the rough terrain of the geyser region and which culminated in the treaty of June 7, 1836.¹³ But succeeding events proved that pledges of peace given by Satiyomis were flimsy affairs.

Between campaigns, Salvador found time to think of personal matters. Details of his courtship of María de la Luz Carrillo have not been recorded, but we can believe that the wedding and María's arrival in Sonoma must have been the occasion for festivities. Mariano and Salvador, having chosen two sisters as their wives, were closely bound together. Even more closely were they bound by the lonely and dangerous outpost they had chosen as their home.

The first real home of Salvador and María de Carrillo Vallejo was a large adobe on the west side of the plaza in Sonoma. From the red leather-covered chest that she had brought with her, María took religious prints and intricate embroideries to relieve the bareness of the walls. As prosperity came to the Vallejos, imported furniture and objects of art were added, so that visitors frequently commented in surprise. In 1846, Edwin Bryant referred to the air of comfort he found in the home of the general: "The parlor was furnished with handsome chairs, sofas, mirrors, and tables of mahogany frame work and a fine piano, the first I have seen in the country. Several paintings and some superior engravings ornamented the walls."¹⁴ Some items, still in the possession of the descendants of Salvador and María, indicate that their home was likewise furnished with a degree of luxury uncommon on the west coast.

During the next few years, Salvador lived a busy life, assuming more and more responsibility in military matters, as Mariano, now comandante general of California, became engrossed in civic and political affairs. Errands for Mariano took the younger brother sometimes to Fort Ross, to Monterey, or to Santa Barbara, as for example, his leadership of the body of troops sent from Sonoma in March 1838, to the aid of Alvarado in his conflict with Carlos Carrillo for the governorship.¹⁵

In 1836, Salvador and Ramón Carrillo led a small party up into the Clear Lake country; they were, in fact, the first white men to explore that region.¹⁶ Periodically it was necessary to subdue the Satiyomis, who obtained arms by trading beaver and otter skins with the Russians.¹⁷ One of the most bitter of such campaigns occurred when Zampay, chief of the Yolotoys, induced the Satiyomi chieftain, Succara, to cooperate in an effort to destroy Solano as chief of the Suisu-ns and thus assume command of the combined Suisu-n and Napajo tribes. Scene of the campaign was the recently-explored Clear Lake region; the leader of the Sonoma troops was Salvador Vallejo, who deferred to the plan of attack suggested by Chief Solano, viz., to send into the camp of the enemy a "fifth column," to persuade them that the Suisu-n Indians were prepared to surrender at the very outset of the battle. The ruse was effective, and Solano succeeded in taking Zampay prisoner by lassoing him "like a cow." Thereafter Succara signed a peace treaty, which he kept only until he was ready to try a new offensive.¹⁸

Salvador seems to have reveled in a soldier's life—the long rides over forested hillsides or valleys, the exercise of ingenuity, the combat, the relief of precarious victory. As for the commissariat, his men were never hungry:

My army hunted for food, not a hard matter in those days for elks, deer, bears, and all sorts of game was then very abundant. We never wanted powder while hunting—we caught deer and elks with ropes. The bear we killed with bowie knives, and at times, we lassoed them while riding on horse back.¹⁹

He attributed the success of his force to the fact that "as a general thing

when engaged in fighting Indians, we did not lose time in either sleeping or drinking."²⁰

In 1838, Salvador went south with a company of soldiers to assist Alvarado, who was having trouble in maintaining his authority as governor. No real fighting occurred, but the resistance was dissipated and Alvarado remained in control. On September 15, 1839, news of his appointment as governor, "en propiedad," reached California from Acapulco; also came news of Mariano's official appointment as colonel.

Occasionally, sharp words passed between the two brothers over questions of military discipline, etc. There is some discrepancy in their reports concerning the management of the secularized Mission San Francisco Solano, of which Salvador had been named administrator in 1839 (although for practical purposes the mission had ceased to exist after 1836). Salvador maintained that he was never put in charge of the property, and turned in his resignation when Governor Alvarado sent an inspector, W. E. P. Hartnell, to study the mission problems.²¹ But Salvador supported his brother in the controversy with Hartnell, and placed the latter on a boat bound for San Francisco, threatening him should he attempt to interfere with affairs at San Rafael and San Francisco Solano.²²

In January 1839, Governor Alvarado appointed Salvador justice of the peace in Sonoma, but Mariano ordered him not to serve in that capacity, stating that the governor had no right to appoint a military officer to a civil position. Mariano, himself, gave Salvador an appointment, namely, as commander of the post and of the infantry company at Sonoma, with no dependence on any other than the comandante general. This order, however, made little if any change in Salvador's status, and was apparently issued to serve notice upon Alvarado that his interference in things military would not be tolerated. At this time, the infantry company was composed of about twenty-five selected Indians, and there were some forty men in the cavalry.²³ Official decrees from Mexico City, confirming appointments, took many months to reach the Sonoma frontier. Salvador's confirmation is written on the stationery of the *Comandancia General de la Alta California*, and is in the form of a circular letter signed by General Vallejo; translated, it reads:

General Staff for Northern California

CIRCULAR

His Excellency the Minister of War and Navy, in a letter dated August 20th of last year and just received by the last mail, informs me as follows: "His Excellency has taken due note of the official letter that Your Excellency signed on April 25th, stressing the necessity that at present exists for the establishment of military headquarters on the Northern frontier, center of which is Sonoma.

"His Excellency herein authorizes Your Excellency to act in that manner establishing such command and appointing to the same an Officer of his complete trust. This communication is therefore sent in reply."

Therefore this General Headquarters has proceeded to appoint for this mission in charge of another military headquarters, Don Salvador Vallejo, appointment which it should be made known in the Special Orders [Orders of the Day].

God and Liberty, Sonoma,
October 1st, 1841

To the Military Commander of the Sonoma Frontier.²⁴

Earlier the same year Capt. Vallejo is said to have aided in the rescue of Princess Helena Gagarin, wife of Baron Alejandro Rotchef, governor of the Russian colony of Ross and Bodega. She had joined an excursion into the interior to place a copper plate on Mount St. Helena, conferring upon it its present name in honor of Saint Helena, patron saint of Empress Helena of Russia. En route back to Ross, the little party found itself surrounded by a band of Indians led by Solano; but the fear of the Russians was alleviated when Salvador, watchful of Russian affairs, rode up to challenge Solano. The chieftain finally consented to postpone action until a messenger could be sent to Mariano Vallejo, who settled the dispute and, with Salvador, conducted the party back to Fort Ross.²⁵ In gratitude, the czar sent to Mariano a handsomely fitted field set in a lined hardwood chest.²⁶

When visitors came to Sonoma, Salvador was usually present for the festivities and for the conferences which were a part of every such visit. During the decade 1839-49, the list of visitors was imposing. First, came Johann Augustus Sutter in July 1839, armed with letters of introduction and a generous land grant from Governor Alvarado. Mariano Vallejo perceived in him a potential rival on the northern frontier; he suggested that Sutter should settle in Sonoma, but the latter wanted elbow room and independence. After the sparring at the conference was over, politics gave way to music and dancing, Salvador showing his versatility by playing on his guitar. In his "Notas Históricas," written when Salvador was an old man, he declares that he was always suspicious of Sutter and frequently warned his brother concerning his activities and intentions. "I am unable to fathom," he wrote, "the masonic bonds that united two persons whose interests and political views were so different."²⁷ But the elder Vallejo was not deceived by Sutter's courtly manner, and in his reports to the Mexican government he was caustic in his criticism of Governor Alvarado for permitting the Swiss to gain a foothold in northern California. Realizing his inability to drive Sutter out, Mariano covered his suspicions with a certain amount of friendliness.

Salvador had played his guitar for the entertainment of Sutter. He demonstrated other accomplishments in January 1842, upon the visit of Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s affairs in North America. Salvador served as personal guide to conduct the English official and his party on a tour of the region, and later arranged an exhibit of horsemanship. Sir George found the performance distressing in its cruelty but

astonishing in the skill which the horsemen displayed. He concludes his narrative with these comments:

... But with all their dexterity and experience, the riders often meet with serious and even fatal accidents, by being thrown from their horses. Don Salvador himself had had his full share of this kind of thing. He had broken two ribs and fractured both thighs, the one in two places, and the other in three, so that he had now very little left in reserve but his neck.²⁸

Salvador paid a high price for his daredevil courage, for his injuries had a crippling effect upon him in his later life; yet, considering the almost total lack of medical and surgical facilities, it seems a miracle that he could have survived at all.

All of the great powers were alert to the developing situation in California. The visit of M. Eugène Duflôt de Mofras, an attache of the French legation in Mexico, represented that nation's desire for enlightenment, first hand. He irked Salvador with what he called de Mofras' insipid questions and arrogant manner. So he resolved to play a joke on him. The Frenchman asked Salvador if it would be possible to procure a few pounds of vanilla for his collection of herbs. There was no vanilla in California, but Salvador replied: "There is no vanilla in Sonoma, but any quantity may be gathered in the Mission of Santa Rosa." A few years later, de Mofras published a book in Paris describing his travels in California, and described his visit to the mission at Santa Rosa—a mission that never existed, except, as Salvador concludes, "in the fertile brains of the volatile Frenchman."²⁹

Another visitor during this period was the American, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, who is remembered chiefly for his premature "capture" of Monterey and his subsequent apologetic withdrawal when he learned that war did not, as yet, exist between the United States and Mexico. In December 1842, the commodore paid a visit to Sonoma. When his party lost its way, they were picked up by a company of soldiers, brought to Sonoma, and lodged in the guard house. Mariano Vallejo was immediately advised that an armed party of foreigners had been arrested; but his apprehension lest the expected invasion had started gave way to chagrin when he found his guests in the calabozo (jail). To quell any suspicion of unfriendliness, he proceeded to outdo himself in hospitality and found that he genuinely liked the commodore. A feature of the entertainment was a trip to the military camp at Huichica where Salvador was training Indians for a new foray against the perpetually troublesome Satiyomis. Some 1400 Indians were gathered there at dinner when the visitors arrived, and the commodore was surprised to note the large number of Indian women present. He asked Capt. Salvador Vallejo if the Indian women took part in the battles; to which the captain replied: "Those women do not fight against the Satiyomi Indians; but if it were the case of battling Yankees, they would take part in the front rank and would know how to give a good account of themselves."

Years later Mariano Vallejo met Commodore Jones. He inquired if Salvador was still alive and asked whether the Indian women had distinguished themselves in fighting the Yankees.³⁰

Mariano Vallejo is said to have liked his role as "Autocrat of Sonoma," as he was called during the long period when he had almost absolute sway over the northern frontier. But he was well aware of the changes taking place. He appreciated the strategic and material importance of California; he was well aware of the sparring among the major powers to gain control of the rich territory, and was discouraged by the futility of his efforts to arouse the Mexican government to any decisive action. Mariano Vallejo liked the Americans whom he had come to know, and he became convinced that the combination of American political ideals and the enterprising character of the people would spell prosperity for California and security for his own little empire. To Salvador Vallejo the presence of the Americans seemed to be a threat to the way of life he knew and loved, a reaction which certainly needs no apology.

Among the visitors to Sonoma in 1843 was Dr. G. M. Sandels, a Swedish scientist. He painted a sordid picture of an Indian raid, conducted by Captain Vallejo, and of the treatment of the prisoners whom he saw huddled together in pathetic acceptance of their fate. Nor did he enjoy the night-long celebration staged by the Indians who had participated on the winning side during the raid.³¹ A casual visitor like Sandels, unacquainted with the background of the country, could not take into account all of the facts of the situation. The Indians south of San Francisco Bay were less warlike than the north-bay Indians. Sonoma was still a frontier outpost, sanctioned by the government but left in large measure to shift for itself in the matter of defense. The small guard, maintained often at the Vallejos' personal expense, could never have guaranteed its survival nor afforded protection to the women and children of the little settlement. The Suisu-n alliance saved Sonoma, and the Suisu-n loyalty was no doubt strengthened by the Vallejo policy of allowing these warlike Indians to fight under their own chieftains in their own way.

In discussing the relationships which existed between the Spanish and the Indians in northern California, Salvador had this to say:

They tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheared our sheep, cut our lumber, built our houses, paddled our boats, made tiles for our houses, ground our grain, killed our cattle, dressed their hides for the market, and made our unburnt bricks; while the Indian women made most excellent servants, took good care of our children, and made every one of our meals. And be it said in justice to them, that though not learned in the culinary art as taught by Italian and French books, they made very palatable and savory dishes. And these people we considered as members of our families. We loved them and they loved us. Our intercourse was always pleasant. The Indians knew that our superior education gave us a right to command and rule over them; and we, guided by the teachings of the good missionaries, and counseled by our forlorn position, while made it very plain that

in case of a general uprising of the Indians we could not cope with them, always did our best to strengthen the bonds of friendship which bound the two races together.³²

The campaign referred to by Dr. Sandels seems to have been but another chapter in the long war with the Satiyomis and their allied tribes. When Capt. Salvador Vallejo had his force of 70 Californians and 200 auxiliary Indians at Huichica ready for action, he led an expedition north into Mendocino County, leaving Sonoma on March 5, 1843. The enemy staged a tactical withdrawal and eventually took refuge on an island off the Mendocino coast. On March 13, Salvador wrote his brother an account of a battle which had taken place the preceding evening. Twelve soldiers and thirty auxiliaries had reached the island by means of tule rafts; they demanded the surrender of the enemy, and, when they refused, Salvador's force attacked and according to the report 170 Indians were killed.³³ Stormy weather, including some snow, prevented further attacks by either side; on March 27, Salvador ordered his forces to evacuate their position and return home because their supplies were running short.

These campaigns caused severe criticism of Captain Vallejo in San Francisco and elsewhere in California because of the number of Indians killed. The governor wrote to Mariano Vallejo requesting a thorough investigation, but it appears that the latter ignored the request. Vallejo did not wish to encourage Alvarado to interfere in matters that came under his, Vallejo's, jurisdiction. Bancroft expresses the view that the reports of Indian deaths were exaggerated, because, he says, Mariano would never have tolerated so great an outrage.³⁴ Bancroft also had high praise for Mariano's Indian policy.³⁵ Although Salvador may have been unrestrained in battle ("barbarous" is the word his critics used), he nevertheless conducted his campaigns with remarkably small loss in killed and wounded among his own forces. And it may be assumed that the severity of these campaigns broke the will of the Satiyomis to go on resisting the white man. More and more foreigners were finding their way into the territory, and their increasing strength also contributed to the fact that Indian unrest tapered off in 1843 and ceased to be a serious threat.

In 1844, Salvador Vallejo was given the title of "Capitán de Defensores" and was expected to reorganize and strengthen the presidial company as part of the governor's plan to build up provincial defenses. Not long afterwards, Mariano saw fit to dissolve the company, to avoid involvement in another civil war. Thenceforth Salvador turned his attention to pursuits of peace.

An episode in his life during the preceding year (1843) has been variously treated elsewhere, viz., his affair with Edward Turner Bale, an English surgeon, who had resided for some time in Monterey, and, upon receiving a grant of land in 1843, had moved to Sonoma, where Mariano Vallejo, at the

suggestion of Salvador, appointed him doctor-in-chief of California troops. His wife was María Ignacia Soberanes, daughter of Salvador's eldest sister, María Isadora. The doctor was said to have been a morose Britisher, jealous of his wife, and never able to understand the affectionate and demonstrative manner of the Spanish Californians in their family relations.³⁶ No new interpretation of the flare-up between Bale and Salvador is attempted here because nothing heretofore uncovered has been found in the personal papers available to the present writer.

After the Indian fighting slackened, Salvador tried his hand at trapping sea otter off the Marin coast. He was associated in this venture with Juan B. Alvarado, José Castro, Ramón Estrada, and Joaquín Ortega in the "California Fishing Company," which was duly licensed by the Mexican government. The work was performed by eighteen "cayucos" (small boats made from the skins of sea lions), manned by Kodiak Indians from Fort Ross and directed by Salvador, who went after their prey in the mornings when the sea was calm, as the "cayucos" were almost unmanageable in rough weather. It was rough work, but while the sea lions and sea otter were plentiful, the enterprise paid handsome profits to the members of the company.³⁷ Salvador also engaged in the making of grinding and mill stones which he procured from a small hill between the sites of present-day Vallejo and Benicia. To reach the place, he made use of a large whale boat which he had purchased from two Scottish merchants.³⁸

The slowing down of activities in and around Sonoma now gave Salvador the opportunity he had anticipated of moving his family to Napa Valley, which he knew well from his Indian campaigns. He had already (1838) applied for and received the Napa Rancho, which bordered the Napa River. The next year Salvador received a gift from Governor Alvarado; it was not in Napa Valley, and he placed such slight value upon it that he abandoned his share to Jacob Leese, who had married his sister, Rosalia. The land given by the governor to the two men included what is now known as Telegraph Hill in San Francisco! Perhaps it was just as well that Salvador turned over his share to Leese, for the latter had trouble with squatters and lost the property.

In 1840, Salvador had applied for a grant in southern Lake County. There seems to be some doubt that the grant was actually made in compliance with the law. Salvador and his brother Juan Antonio built a cabin in the vicinity of Kelseyville; they stationed a mayordomo there and for a number of years ran cattle in the region, but the uncertainty of the title seems to have prevented him from improving the land permanently.³⁹ Meanwhile he continued to add to his holdings in the lower Napa Valley. In 1841, he received the Llajome grant of one and one-half leagues and in 1844, fourteen leagues in the Lupyomi grant, also in the Napa Valley, and an additional two leagues granted jointly to Salvador and his brother Juan Antonio. Lieut. Joseph

Warner Revere observed in his *Tour of Duty in California* (New York & Boston, 1849):

... Don Salvador Vallejo is the largest proprietor, owning two adjoining estates, which make together six square leagues, a snug little farm of thirty thousand acres of the best land in the world. The climate is a perpetual summer, and the atmosphere is not obscured by the "neblina" (fogs), which prevail nearer the sea. In the rainy season ('twere treason against nature to call it winter) the rushing and picturesque cataracts descend from the Sierras on either side, over beds dry at all other times of the year, swelling the river Napa to its fullest dimensions. The exquisite views which abound in every direction, the complete seclusion of the spot, bounded at the broader end by the waters of the bay, and at every other point by jagged mountain crags, realize the ideal of a "Happy Valley."⁴⁰

This was the setting which Salvador Vallejo chose for the establishment of his home. Sonoma Valley was Mariano's homeland, the seat of his branch of the family, and a heritage for his children. It was Salvador's idea that his own family should have a similar heritage, and it seemed to him appropriate that the two brothers should hold the two parallel valleys, both sloping southward to the waters of the bay and separated by a densely wooded ridge. The Petaluma Valley west of Sonoma was already held by Mariano and was the center of his agricultural activities. To the north, occupying the site of present-day Santa Rosa, had come the Carrillos from San Diego, the parents of María de la Luz and Francisca de Vallejo. There Salvador had designed and supervised the construction of the massive Carrillo adobe, where his mother-in-law lived for many years.

On the west bank of the Napa River near what was first called Trancas Ford, but later called Trancas Bridge, Salvador built his home, which he called "Las Trancas," meaning "as far as the tide flows." It was large, with thick adobe walls that kept it cool in summer and warm in winter. The living-room was floored, half with gray stone, half with hewn planks. He also built a second adobe, possibly as a warehouse or as quarters for his workers. It is thought to have been situated some distance north of his home, perhaps in the vicinity of the present-day schoolhouse which is known as the Salvador School. Neither of these adobes is standing today. But across the river on the Llajome grant, he built a long, rambling adobe, which served jointly as stables and as living quarters for his mayordomo. This has been restored and converted into a residence on the Longwood Ranch. It commands a view of the river, the valley farm lands, and the timbered hills to the west.

Salvador was not the first resident in the Napa country. Further up the slopes southward from Mount Saint Helena, George Yount, Dr. Bale, and Cayetano Juárez (who was known as the Duke of Tulucay) were already established on their respective grants. It was still wild land. When a beef was slaughtered at the Trancas, the carcass was hung on the wide verandah, an Indian standing guard by day and keeping a fire burning at night lest it be stolen by a brown bear. During his entire adult life, Salvador engaged in

farming enterprises, although most of the time he relied upon mayordomos and vaqueros to manage his lands for him. Like all the great rancheros of the 1840's, he counted his riches largely in livestock. According to William Heath Davis, he was said to own at one time five to six thousand cattle and 2000 horses.⁴¹ When Lieut. Charles Wilkes visited California as head of a scientific expedition sent out by the United States in 1841, he entertained on shipboard the two Vallejo brothers, and noted in his record of the visit: "Salvador Vallejo is engaged in agricultural pursuits and particularly in cattle raising which under the government has the special privilege of supplying the vessels which he does at prices which insure a special profit."⁴²

Salvador also raised wheat. Juan Antonio Sánchez, one of his laborers, has left an account of his experiences at the Napa Rancho:

When I discovered that all my capital was gone—acting on that resolve, I started for Napa where I obtained good situation on a farm owned by Salvador Vallejo, a very good man, open-hearted, and always ready to make free with his "peones." The epoch of my arrival in Napa, Salvador employed about seventy persons, some engaged in raising wheat, and other kind of vegetables, others attended to the cattle and horses of which he possessed a great many.

We tilled the soil by yoking oxen to the "arado" [plow], an old-fashioned contrivance which would not answer nowadays, but was quite sufficient for the early days of California. The grain produced on the estate was shipped to San Francisco. Some was sent by barges, and some in the steamer Guadalupe. Our grain before being sent to market was placed in sacks imported from Europe. I remained two years on the estate. At the time I resided on the Napa estate, Salvador had a wife and five children who lived with him.⁴³

Two Americans, William Baldrige and Joseph Chiles, wanted to buy a portion of his land on the Napa River as a site for a mill, but Salvador refused to sell. They then offered to erect a fine flour mill, Salvador to have an interest in it in exchange for the site; but again he refused, saying that the mill would frighten his cattle. Bancroft, in his narration of the incident, concludes by remarking, "Sage Salvador! He had all he wanted; how could the mill add to his happiness?"⁴⁴ However, in his "Pioneer Register," Bancroft says that he has in his possession a contract, signed in 1847, providing that the same Baldrige should build a saw mill for Salvador Vallejo.⁴⁵ In addition to his agricultural activities, Salvador operated a soap factory at Napa for several years, which is said to have brought him several thousand dollars a year.⁴⁶

Describing their family life and responsibilities, Salvador wrote:

We taught our sons to be good farmers and artisans, and our girls to be good wives in every branch of their business. And though many of the rich men of the country had from twenty to sixty Indian servants whom they dressed and fed, yet our wives and daughters superintended the cooking, and every other operation performed in the house. The result of this training was cleanliness, good living, and economy.⁴⁷

Salvador was prosperous. He had diversified interests that seemed to guarantee a safe future for himself and his family. And he was generous to the

stream of overland immigrants who were reaching the central and northern valleys of California in various stages of destitution. According to Nicholas Carriger, one of a party which had just arrived from across the plains and were camped on Sonoma Creek,

Captain Salvador Vallejo came to us in his undress uniform led by three stalwart Indians, one groaning under a heavy load of flour, one carrying a basket of sugar, and the other holding a basket of chocolate; the Captain by means of one interpreter asked us if we were in need of any one of the articles his servants carried, and expressed his willingness and readiness to serve us to the full extent of his ability. On taking a farewell from us, "Nearby, I have 1000 cows. If any of you wish fresh meat, go and kill as many animals as you need for your daily support." Captain Salvador Vallejo observed the same conduct toward every other emigrant camped in the vicinity of Sonoma.⁴⁸

Another immigrant had this to say:

... on arriving here, friends of mine who settled in 1846 in Sonoma told me that the two brothers Vallejo had been very kind to the American immigrants; they always gave beef and other things freely to anyone in want; since I have settled here definitely, I have heard many persons paying due tribute to the kind disposition of the two representatives of California's ancient rulers.⁴⁹

But the times were troubled. After Micheltorena was expelled by the revolution of 1845, no effective departmental government existed and local authorities were powerless to halt the influx of foreigners. The Russians had withdrawn, but Sutter had purchased their holdings and was showing more and more independence. The Californians discussed the relative advantages of a French, British, or an American protectorate. Mariano Vallejo was known to have espoused the American cause, but many were disturbed by the actions of a young American army officer, Capt. John Charles Frémont, and his band of so-called "explorers." There was unrest, too, among the newly arrived frontiersmen, who took seriously the rumors of the action being planned by the Californians against them. The entire province was electrified when the news came of the theft of Francisco Arce's horses, followed by the capture of Sonoma and the arrest and imprisonment at Sacramento of the Vallejo brothers, Victor Prudon (Mariano's secretary), and the Vallejos' brother-in-law, Jacob Leese. The Bear Flag Revolt, secretly encouraged at first but later openly championed by Frémont, was but the premature forerunner of the official American conquest of California which resulted from the War with Mexico.

At Sutter's Fort, where the prisoners were taken under orders from Frémont, the party was locked up in a room without bed or blankets. Salvador described their experience thus:

I did not feel the situation on my own account, for I was used to "rough it" as Mark Twain calls the life of the mountaineer. But my heart grieved for my brother. I went back to the days in which the house of General Vallejo was the rendezvous of every foreigner that visited California. I thought of the many English, Americans, French, and Russian officers that had received kind treatment at his hands. And when the light of day allowed me to see him lying on the damp floor without coverings or even a pillow on

which to rest his head, I cursed the days in which our house dispensed hospitality to a race of men deaf to the call of gratitude, so perfect strangers to good breeding.⁵⁰

Bancroft expressed almost identical sentiments in his discussion of the imprisonment. He calls it a "gross and inexcusable outrage."⁵¹

One of the worst features of their confinement was the suspense the prisoners were under in not knowing what had happened to their families. After ten days, Julio Carrillo, brother of Francisca and María de la Luz, arrived to bring them word of the events that had been taking place. From time to time, their wives succeeded in sending them gifts of food and money, but Salvador states that his jailers almost invariably appropriated the pinole and money which his wife managed to send him.⁵² By order of Captain Frémont, the Vallejo brothers and their associates were held at Sutter's Fort for two months, despite the fact that the Stars and Stripes had been raised at Monterey, San Francisco, Sonoma, and even at Sutter's Fort itself. It was not until August that the brothers were released under Commodore Stockton's orders.

Salvador described his release and return home as follows:

My feelings on the occasion cannot be described nor defined. Suffice it to say that a cloud of thoughts like water rushing through an artesian well recently bored, overpowered my brains, and after riding less than one mile, I began to feel feverish, and being unable to sit any longer on the saddle, I dismounted and having sought the reviving shade of a friendly tree I threw myself on the ground, where on my bended knees I thanked the Almighty Creator for having spared my life and restored me to wife, children, brothers, sisters, friends, and freedom. . . . After having rested a few hours on the road I again mounted my horse and in the course of two days I reached Napa. There I found my desolate wife and four young children in a state bordering on distraction; my property scattered to the four winds, for whatever they could not carry away they had taken good care to destroy. . . .⁵³

Salvador filed claim for damages in the amount of \$53,100, but this claim was scaled down to an eventual \$11,700, which was paid by the U.S. government for losses it agreed he had sustained.⁵⁴

In September 1846, he was back in Sonoma, where he stayed for a time at Mariano's. But it irked him to be compelled to live under a roof not his own while his residence on the plaza was occupied by a contingent of U.S. soldiers. Accordingly, he took matters into his own hands, telling the story in these words:

One fine morning by means of a ladder, I entered my bed chamber through a window which had incautiously been left open, and once inside, I threw out of the window every article belonging to the intruders, who apprised of my proceedings placed around sentinels in front of each door of my dwelling, and in this manner they kept me a close prisoner during nineteen days.⁵⁵

While he was thus imprisoned, something happened which made the Americans turn for aid to General Vallejo. In the summer of 1844, a party of Indians from Oregon had arrived at Sutter's Fort. They were headed by Elijah, son of Chief Yellow Serpent, who became involved in a quarrel and

was killed. Two years later, in September 1846, it was reported that the Walla Walla Indians were coming in force to avenge the murder of the chief's son. The Americans turned to Mariano Vallejo for aid in defending themselves in this emergency, but he was beyond the age for active campaigning. Consequently, he secured Salvador's release and sent him on his way. It turned out to be nothing more than a pleasant excursion, for Chief Yellow Serpent arrived at Sutter's Fort with only a small party of unarmed warriors, accompanied by their women and children, and bent on hunting, fishing, and trade, and to visit the grave of Elijah, whom they asked to have avenged.⁵⁶

In October 1846, Salvador again requested permission to occupy his Sonoma house, but was advised by Lieutenant Revere that the Americans could not be disturbed or removed; he could use the rest of his house if he wished to, or repair it for residence.

Just when Mariano Vallejo could begin to hope that his confidence in the Americans would be realized, gold was discovered. If there had been uncertainty before, it rapidly degenerated into chaos. The new government had not been established; the machinery had not been set up for carrying out the treaty of peace with Mexico with respect to the property rights of the Californians, which were absolutely guaranteed by that treaty. Without warning, the country was inundated with a flood of gold-seeking immigrants from every country of the world.

For a time, Salvador capitalized upon the situation by outfitting miners bound for the American River; but, for the most part, he continued to rely on the products of the soil for his income. He was under constant pressure to sell his land; this he was loath to do. However, he did sell several tracts of the Napa Rancho, keeping the river front property (about 700 acres) for his own.⁵⁷ In 1850, he leased for ten years the Rancho de Giacomo, agreeing to pay to Clement Auguste Basignano and Manuel Espindola for the use of the land eight tame oxen, wild steers (not above twenty head), two tame cows, four tame horses, ten wild horses, four ploughs of the country, one American wagon, and fifty hens; he further agreed to sow the first year barley, wheat, corn, and potatoes, in specified quantities, to repair ditches, and as the lease states:

Also, he shall furnish during the whole time of the lease six Indians, men or women to work at the planting of the crops and during all the time of seed planting but in case of much difficulty or impossibility to furnish said Indians by reason that they diminish or disappear a great deal, then Don Salvador shall be free of said promise by the said impossibility to accomplish it.⁵⁸

The lease reflects the increasing uncertainty of the times. Salvador could no longer agree unequivocally to furnish six Indians a year.

But his troubles were only beginning. He had filed claim for his lands in compliance with the new land law. Delays were interminable, and while he waited for the land commission and the courts to act, the squatters moved in

and settled upon his property. There was no one to evict them. To use his own words:

At the time the Americans entered this country in quest of plunder I possessed sixteen leagues [about 50,000 acres] of the best land in Napa Valley, my title was perfect, having been given to me by Governor J. B. Alvarado for services rendered, for money advanced the government, for food and soap supplied to the soldiers of the Republic. My title was perfect and no man born of woman would have dared to dispute it before the courts of the State. But when the large immigration began to pour into the country like water from a newly opened spring, the immigrants, many of whom were too lazy to work, too poor to purchase, and too proud to beg, did not hesitate to take forcible possession of my lands. In this manner they actually stole from me twelve leagues of land, a great many of them under fence.⁵⁹

And again, he forcefully declares:

In one word: The lawsuits of California against American squatters were tried by squatter juries, summoned by squatter Sheriffs. And the law was interpreted by squatter Judges, always interested in the final decision of the cases tried before them.⁶⁰

In December 1853, the Sonoma *Bulletin* published the following notice of sale:

By virtue of an execution and order of sale issued out of the district court of the 7th judicial district in and for Napa County, State of California, and to me directed and dated the 28th day of November, A. D. 1853, Allen Thomas H. Ward obtaining a judgment against Salvador Vallejo for the sum of five hundred and thirteen and seventy-six one-hundredths dollars, with interest at the rate of four per cent per month from the 21st day of May, 1853, with accruing costs and two dollars for execution,

Know, therefore, that according as directed by said execution, I have levied upon and taken into possession as the property of the said Salvador Vallejo the following described personal estate, to-wit:

One mahogany dining table, three Japan stands, one Chinese card table, two mahogany tables, folding leaves; one pine table, folding leaves; one dining table, painted white, one red table, sixteen chairs, wooded and cane seats, one high post bedstead, one writing desk, one pistol case, one mahogany dressing case, one Chinese ornament, two drinking glasses, one box with glass top, two looking glasses, mahogany frames; one dozen gilt frames, two crayon drawings in frames, one engraving in frame, two pairs of brass branch lamps, glass tops; one French clock, one pair glass vases, two pair cloth table covers, one cloth table cover, one green tea tray, one feather fan, one matting sofa, one box silver epaulets, one lot of books and slates, one razor strop and razors, one lot of books, one pistol, one lot of dry goods, one lot of sundries, one carpet, one lot of matting, and three bottles of brandied peaches.

Which property will by me be sold at public auction to the highest bidder for cash on Saturday, the tenth day of December, A. D., 1853, between the hours of nine in the forenoon and four o'clock in the afternoon, at the late residence of Salvador Vallejo in the city of Sonoma to satisfy the said execution.

ISRAEL BROCKMAN, Sheriff, Sonoma County⁶¹

The possibility is that these possessions were left in Sonoma when Salvador moved to Napa and that he allowed them to be disposed of in this manner, to meet a judgment he could not otherwise take care of.

The same year, a memorandum in the general's handwriting mentioned the fact that the roof blew off Salvador's house, and noted that, "I lent him

\$4,000 in gold even without his asking for it."⁶² Also referred to are other financial transactions involving his brother and disappointing to Mariano. Salvador hoped to recoup his fortunes from the land he still managed to hold in the Napa Valley, but his grain crop was lost through recurrent fires, declared to have been incendiary. In despair he sold most of his remaining property and deposited the money in San Francisco banks. He looked forward to a life of peace—free from the toil of the farmer and the dangers of the soldier. But the three banks failed, and he found himself in desperate straits. Mariano wrote to him, asking him to bring his family to Sonoma because family circumstances had become "most rueful and their condition isolated and miserable." He attributed the unfortunate situation to the changed society and the times, and expressed the wish that they could all be happy and free from worries, suggesting that they make an effort to buy up property in and around Sonoma as a kind of gathering place for the family.

Salvador's reply to Mariano's suggestion is curt and reflects his wounded pride. While he professes cordial and friendly feelings for Mariano, he leaves no doubt that he is not willing to sacrifice his independence and the opportunity to rear his family in his own way and in accordance with the changed conditions. He states that he has suffered great losses in the last three years, and now prefers to live in retirement with his family, causing no inconvenience to anyone.⁶³ These frank letters, which have never been published, point up the previously mentioned contrast between the two brothers. The general welcomed the Americans in wholehearted hospitality; he entered actively into the politics of the new state, and he became the most prominent and popular of the Spanish Californians. Even when adversity came to Mariano and he found that he too had lost his lands, he accepted his situation without bitterness, convinced that the change was better for California, even though the Spanish Californians had suffered much as a result.

Salvador, on the other hand, became bitter, but his pride saved him—pride in María, who refused to remember the ugly things of the past, and who taught her children: "Let only the good live on. Time rights all things"; pride in his sons and daughters, pride in the role he had played in his homeland. He did not damn the Yankees indiscriminately. He did not like Frémont, nor Sutter, nor the Bear Flag men; but many professional historians, having the advantage of perspective, have taken exception to these same men. Salvador liked Stockton and Montgomery and Kearny, and Yount, Carriger, and Boggs, whose metal he was quick to appreciate. He retired with his family to the portion of the original Napa Rancho still in his possession, and there, at Las Trancas, he planned to spend, as he says, "a few years of a quiet life, mostly engaged in educating my children, and fishing and hunting."⁶⁴ Mariano Vallejo may have had the happier, more magnanimous philosophy, but Salvador seems to have derived a hard satisfaction from his own policy of pleasant seclusion and highly selective fraternization.

When the Civil War broke out, Salvador enlisted to help save the Union. He could be pardoned if, on the side, he indulged in a little pleasant anticipation at the thought that he might have a chance to strike some legitimate blows at the Pike County Missourians and Kentuckians, whose prototypes had swindled him out of his lands. Probably also he was a little bored with the quiet life. In 1863 he was commissioned a major by Gov. Leland Stanford and was stationed at the San Francisco presidio. As major he organized the 1st battalion of native cavalry, composed, Bancroft says, "chiefly of young natives, and numbered 476 members, uniformed like U. S. cavalry, well mounted, and good riders." No California troops, however, saw active duty in the battle areas of the Civil War. Maj. Salvador Vallejo and his battalion were sent east as far as Arizona, and there they "fought out" the war in dull, if necessary, assignments. Chaffing under his disappointment, Salvador resigned in 1865 and returned home.⁶⁵ During the succeeding years, he continued to keep busy with personal affairs. He still assisted his brother, making trips to collect money or to arrange to sell some horses or produce, or to settle matters in connection with the estates of other members of the family.

Only casual mention has been made up to this point of the children of Salvador and his wife María de la Luz. The record is incomplete, but should be included with as much detail as is known. There were three sons: Ignacio Loyola, born February 9, 1849, in Sonoma; Platón C., who moved to Los Angeles to make his home; and Manuel (also called Avril). And four daughters are mentioned: María Ynez Telecillia, who married William Edward Rose Frisby; Ana, who married Lemuel Kincaid; Zarela Margarita, the wife of John Harry Priestly Gedge; and Antonia, wife of Enrique Vallejo, the adopted son of General Vallejo, and who died at the birth of her twin daughters.

Of the grandchildren, the following are the offspring of Mr. and Mrs. William Edward Rose Frisby, those preceded by an asterisk being deceased: *William Augustus Frisby, *Owen Richard Frisby, Uriah Levi Frisby, who resides in Napa; *Adela Isidora Frisby (Mrs. John Gantner); *Delphina Natalia Frisby (Mrs. Yerby, and later Mrs. Hinton); Bertha Ophelia Frisby (Mrs. Martin Burnell); Romualdo Pacheco Frisby; Viola Zarela Frisby (Mrs. Horace T. Holmes); Edna Hazel Frisby (Mrs. Archibald Burnell). The children of Mr. and Mrs. Lemuel Kincaid were Eugene and Levi. Mr. and Mrs. Gedge had four daughters: Luz (Mrs. William King), Georgina (Mrs. J. Burke), Antonia (Mrs. H. Wyman), and Ino (Mrs. H. Knopf). The twin daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Enrique Vallejo were named Anita and Camilla.

Ignacio, Salvador's eldest son, inherited Las Trancas and was a prominent resident of Napa for many years. He tried to claim back payment of a pension due as a result of his father's Civil War service, which his mother during her lifetime had not attempted to collect.⁶⁶ A pension for Salvador

himself had been sought by his friend, Nicholas Carriger, when he learned that \$200 per month had been granted to Sutter by the state legislature. Carriger proposed that if pensions were in order, no one was more worthy than Salvador Vallejo. He cited three reasons for this belief: Salvador's kindness to immigrants when they arrived; the fact that when news of the sufferings of the Donner party reached Sonoma, he was among the first to start to their assistance; Salvador's ready response at the time of the Yellow Serpent scare. Carriger closed his appeal with these words:

I dare say that if the invasion had actually taken place, he would have done his duty. I say so advisedly. I have heard many a man refer in glowing terms to the deeds of bravery of Salvador Vallejo and not one man has ever uttered a word to his discredit. I really believe that if a pension were given to Major Salvador Vallejo, the bestowing of it would only be an act of justice imperatively called for by the sense of gratitude.⁸⁷

Late in life, Salvador was induced to dictate his reminiscences, known as "Notas Históricas," for Hubert Howe Bancroft. They are rambling, lack chronological order, and need to be read in conjunction with a carefully documented history to avoid the mistakes which Salvador made. They have been freely used in this study, not to establish the factual record, but rather to let the reader feel the impact of his personality and words. Bancroft's agent in the transaction was Enrique Cerruti. He had come to Sonoma in 1873, hoping to acquire for his employer the voluminous body of documents built up over the years by Mariano Vallejo. While Cerruti was attempting to persuade the latter to donate the "Vallejo Documents" to Bancroft, he made the acquaintance of Salvador, who was living in Mariano's house in a room that, according to Cerruti,

... no pen can describe with any probability of making a true and reliable description. The major's room may be called a library because it contains a good many books. But again, it cannot be called a library because libraries are supposed to contain only books, while the major's room contains weapons, modern and ancient, carpenter's implements, watch maker's tools, wine, and I must not forget the famous tin cup in which the gallant major serves the delicious nectar to his visitors.

I told the major that everybody expressed surprise at being made to drink out of a worn-out tin cup. The answer I received is as follows: "About 39 years ago, I left Sonoma at the head of a body of troops for the purpose of capturing the noted Indian murderer, Zampay. While traveling, the horse that packed my rough earthen ware fell down a precipice; of course he got killed and his load was forever lost to me. When supper time arrived, we had plenty of fresh meat, deer meat, and ducks; we roasted it and after sprinkling a little salt over it, we ate it, but feeling thirsty, I cursed my ill luck and of course my officers and soldiers were not slow in following my example. In this emergency, my orderly, Manuel Cantua, came toward me holding in his hand the identical tin pan in which I serve wine to my visitors. I assure you that if a vision from Heaven had vouchsafed me eternal years of eternal bliss, I would not have felt happier. I incontinently snatched it from his hand, dipped it in a brook running close by, then passed it around to officers and men and when everybody had imbibed satisfactorily, I fastened the blessed cup around the holster of my pistol, used it throughout the campaign, and on my return to Sonoma, hung it over the chimney corner of my dwelling. I have preserved it till this day and I hope that the blessed cup will be buried with me in my coffin."⁸⁸

Cerruti also relates that he obtained a large quantity of documents from Mariano who insisted that he copy them, not allowing a single one to leave his own hands. Cerruti had other things to do and Bancroft provided secretaries in San Francisco for work of this kind, so he called upon Salvador to help him. At Cerruti's request, Salvador expressed the whole package across the bay. "I regretted very much to be compelled to trouble the major," Cerruti wrote, "but as the General had strictly forbidden me to allow the papers to leave my hands, I had no resource left except intrigue through his brother, who being much beloved by the General, could do as he pleased with anything belonging to the family."⁶⁹ This incident indicates the relationship which Cerruti observed existed between the polished, courtly general and his stalwart, rugged brother.

The injuries Salvador received during his long career as soldier, horseman, swordsman, and farmer, took their toll. Later in life he walked with difficulty, though he did his best to stand erect so as not to lose his military bearing, and he refused to have his picture taken. Of his earlier years he wrote:

I cannot refrain from styling as happy days the good old time in which men, women and children untrammelled by etiquette, were free to roam at will through hills and plains, over meadows and ravines with no critic's eyes to fear, no scandal mongers to dread, no loquacious servants to bribe, and no money required when journeying from Sonoma to San Diego, or *vice versa*. Those were indeed happy days, but alas, gone never again to return. I abstain from repining, for it is useless for mankind to protest against the decree of a wise providence, whose deep mysteries we mortals are not allowed to fathom or interpret.⁷⁰

Why he spent so much of the last twelve years of his life at his brother's home in Sonoma is uncertain. Possibly Las Trancas was closely associated with his disasters, while Sonoma became more and more the symbol of personal achievement. Wherever he turned in the Napa Valley, he saw interlopers living on his land. The policy of comparative seclusion he had adopted had not brought him many friends in Napa. Early American histories of the county scarcely mention his name. But in Sonoma, the Vallejo family name was on everybody's lips; and no one knew better than Mariano the part Salvador had played—that his daring and reckless campaigning had pacified the north-bay frontier; that the pitiful military power provided by Mexico was rendered an effective force largely by his courage and leadership.

Death came to Salvador in his brother's Sonoma house, early in the morning of February 17, 1876. He was sixty-two. Flags in the little city flew at half-mast. The last rites of the church were administered by Father Luis who came across the hills from Napa for the final service. Obituary notices in the press recalled Salvador's gallantry and generosity.

That the brothers maintained a business-like relationship in their mutual affairs is shown by a memorandum in the handwriting of M. G. Vallejo in the collection of manuscript material at the Vallejo museum in Sonoma:⁷¹

CHARGES AGAINST THE ESTATE OF DON SALVADOR VALLEJO AS PER AGREEMENT

Salvador Vallejo a/ M. G. Vallejo

For five thousand loaned for the rebuilding of his home	\$5,000.00
For twelve years of maintenance, that is, room and board, washing and ironing at \$20 pesos per month or \$240 per year	2,880.00
For payment to Dr. Wells, on his last illness	40.00
For payment to Dr. Van Geldern on his last illness	20.00
For the coffin for his burial	20.00
For digging the grave	5.00
Funeral carriage from Vallejo	20.00
For clothing for twelve years	500.00

M. G. V. \$8,485.00

L. M. March 17, 1876

Salvador's wife survived him for nearly eighteen years. She had property in her own right, and her grandson, Uriah Frisby, states that after Salvador's death she purchased land near Coombsville; that at her death her children's inheritance was considerable. Both Salvador and María are buried in Tulucay Cemetery on the outskirts of the city of Napa.

NOTES

(Unless otherwise noted, MSS and other documentary materials, referred to here, are in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.)

1. Luis Quirez y Prado, "Year of 1806, Information concerning the Legitimacy and Purity of Ancestry of Don Ignacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo" (original MS in Bancroft Library; copy in Vallejo Gantner Collection, San Francisco), p. 6; *see also* Helen S. Giffen, "The Life of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, The Portrait of a Man in his Times," *Pony Express Courier*, Jan. 1939; and the present writer's [*M. G.*] *Vallejo, Son of California* (Portland, Ore., 1944), *passim*.

2. Giffen, as above.

3. Charles Howard Shinn, "Pioneer Spanish Families," *Century Magazine*, XIX, n.s. (Jan. 1891), 380-81.

4. Mariano Vallejo, "Historia de California" (MS), I, 182-204; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), II, 225 ff; Charles E. Chapman, *History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1925), pp. 442-46.

5. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas Históricas," Vallejo Gantner Collection (original MS in Bancroft Library), pp. 1 and 99. Notice of the opening of Hartnell's School was dated Dec. 10, 1833. Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford, 1949), pp. 175-76.

6. Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *Century Magazine*, XIX, n.s. (Dec. 1890), 183.

7. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

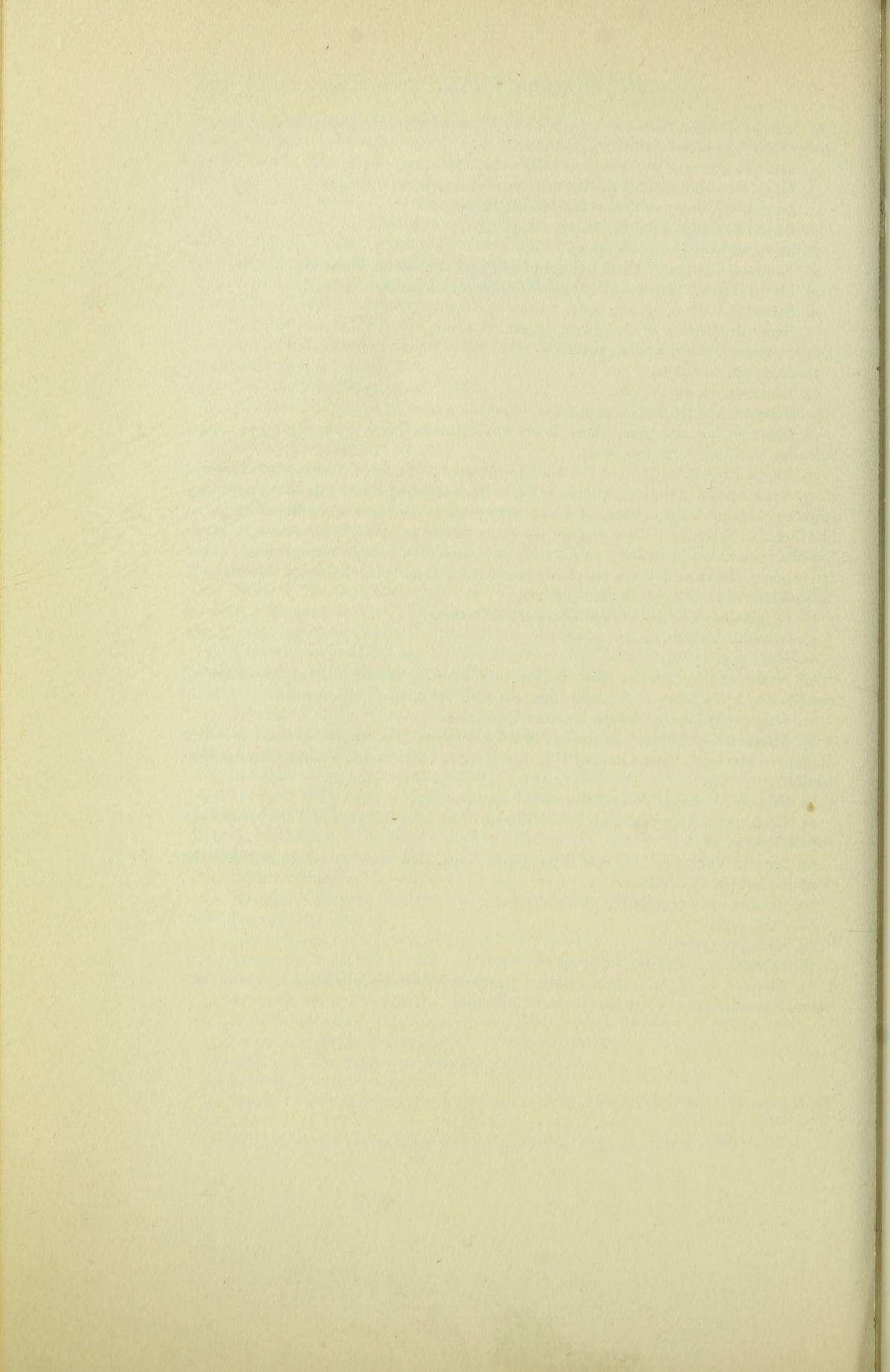
8. Platón Vallejo, "Memoirs of the Vallejos," *San Francisco Bulletin*, Jan. 27-Feb. 14, 1914, No. III.

9. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 161-62.

10. Marian Lydia Lothrop, "Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Defender of the Northern Frontier of California" (MS: Ph.D. dissertation, U.C., 1926), pp. 128-31.

11. José Figueroa to Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Monterey, June 24, 1835, in "State Papers, Missions and Colonization" (MS), II, 406-408. (See translation in *California Star*, San Francisco, March 13, 1847). Mariano Vallejo, as in note 4 above, II, 11-22; and George Tays, "Sonoma and Vallejo," this *QUARTERLY*, XVI (Sept. 1937), 242-44.
12. Charles E. Brown, "Autobiographical Statement" (MS).
13. Mariano Vallejo, "Documentos" (MS), III, pp. 104, 105, 119, 193; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 71; Marian Lydia Lothrop, "Indian Campaigns of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, IX (Sept. 1932), 181-82.
14. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California, Being the Journal of a Tour in the Year 1846-7* (New York: D. Appleton, 1848), p. 336.
15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 552.
16. Mildred B. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California, Counties of the Coast Range* (Stanford, 1937), p. 146.
17. Julio Carrillo, "Statement" (MS).
18. Mariano Vallejo, as in note 4 above, III, 231, 299; Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50.
19. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 720, note.
22. Lothrop, as in note 10 above, pp. 83-87.
23. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 722, note.
24. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, circular letter, Oct. 1, 1841 (MS, Vallejo Gantner Collection).
25. Nellie V. Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 123; E. O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," *The Russians in California* (Calif. Hist. Soc., *Spec. Publ.*, No. 7, 1933), pp. 8-10; Platón Vallejo, *op. cit.*, No. V.
26. This field set has been lent by Mrs. Francisca McGettigan, granddaughter of Gen. M. G. Vallejo, to the Women's Auxiliary of the Society of California Pioneers, and is on display in Pioneer Hall, San Francisco.
27. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
28. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Around the World, 1841-42* (London, 1847), I, 299-304.
29. Mariano Vallejo, as in note 4 above, IV, 244-59; Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
30. Mariano Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IV, 325-45; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 298-329; Tays, as in note 11 above, XVII (June 1938), 147-49; Lothrop, as in note 10 above, pp. 174-77.
31. G. M. Sandels, "The King's Orphan Manuscript," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, III (June 30, 1926), 77-78.
32. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
33. Salvador Vallejo to Mariano Vallejo, Mendocino, March 13, 1843, "Documentos," as in note 13 above, XI, 342.
34. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 363; V, 759, Salvador Vallejo "... recklessly brave, and often inhumanly cruel in his Ind. warfare ... hospitable to early immigrants, though hostile to Americans. . . ."; Lothrop, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
35. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 70-71.
36. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Tays, *op. cit.*, XVII, 155-56; Sanchez, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
37. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas Históricas," *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 3. The Scottish merchants are not named.
39. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
40. Joseph Warren Revere, *Tour of Duty in California* (New York & Boston, 1849), p. 91.
41. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 29.

42. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-1842* (Philadelphia, 1844), V, 209.
43. Enrique Cerruti, "Ramblings in California" (MS), pp. 51-52.
44. H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco 1888), p. 452.
45. Bancroft, *History of California*, *op. cit.*, II, 707.
46. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
47. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
48. Nicholas Carriger, "Autobiography" (MS, in "California Pioneers," No. 6).
49. David Burris, "Statement" (MS, in "California Pioneers," No. 13).
50. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
51. Bancroft, *History of California*, *op. cit.*, V, 123-24.
52. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 and 78.
54. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 467.
55. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
56. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*; Julian Dana, *Sutter of California* (New York, 1936), pp. 240-43; Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-81.
57. Madie Brown, curator of the Vallejo museum at Sonoma, writes that there are many deeds on file in the court house at Santa Rosa attesting to the sale of Napa Valley lands by Salvador Vallejo, many of which were made to members of the Bear Flag party. She feels that Salvador Vallejo was not always as shrewd as he might have been, recounting one transaction in which he sold a lot in Sonoma for \$100 in the morning; in the afternoon of the same day, the purchaser resold it for \$250. When Salvador sold his land, however, he did not lose it to the squatters.
58. Original lease in the Vallejo Gantner Collection.
59. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
61. Notice of sale, Sonoma *Bulletin*, Dec. 1853, cited by Celeste G. Murphy, *People of the Pueblo, or the Story of Sonoma* (Sonoma, California, 1935), pp. 205-206.
62. Original MS in the Vallejo Gantner Collection.
63. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo to Salvador Vallejo, Sonoma [1855]; and Salvador Vallejo to Mariano, Napa, October [?], 1855 (original MSS in the Vallejo Gantner Collection).
64. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas Históricas," *op. cit.*, p. 97.
65. Cerruti, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25; Felipe Fierro, "The Late Salvador Vallejo," *Alta California*, Feb. 20, 1876.
66. Ignacio Vallejo to U.S. war department, Napa, Dec. 29, 1897 (original MS in the Vallejo Gantner Collection).
67. Cerruti, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.
70. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
71. Mariano G. Vallejo, memorandum (original MS at Vallejo State Park and Museum, Sonoma; copy in Vallejo Gantner Collection).



Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

Chapter IV (*Continued*)

The occupation of San Diego by Frémont was as uneventful as that of San Pedro on August 6 by Stockton, who had sailed from Monterey August 1, with a naval and marine force of 360.

Meanwhile, early in July, Castro had made his way south from Santa Clara with a small contingent and had met Gov. Pío Pico at Santa Margarita. The two rivals ostensibly patched up their differences and set about plans for the protection of Los Angeles, the capital. Little success was met. Recruiting was slow, disagreement continued between the civil and military, and between the northern and southern elements. In general there seemed to be a lack of enthusiasm for the cause.

General Castro determined to negotiate if possible and sent two commissioners to Stockton with a statement naming as a condition to negotiations that "hostile movements must be suspended by both forces." Stockton countered with the proposition to Castro that California declare her independence, and stated, "If, therefore, you will agree to hoist the American flag in California, I will stop my forces and negotiate the treaty."

Castro and Pico, unable to bring themselves to submit to Stockton's terms, left Los Angeles separately on August 10, and were off for Mexico. Frémont, leaving a small garrison at San Diego, departed August 8 to join Stockton, whose force he met outside of Los Angeles on the thirteenth. The Americans entered the town the same day and raised their flag without resistance.¹⁰⁵

Since Castro's men had disbanded and had left for the north in small groups, Captains Ford and Swift, with portions of their own companies, were sent to follow up. En route, some of the Californians were captured and paroled, but there is found no confirmation of a statement by Lancey of a "sharp skirmish" near San Luis Obispo.¹⁰⁶

The *Californian*, first newspaper of California, published at Monterey by Chaplain Walter Colton and Robert Semple, noted the arrival there on September 2 of Ford and Swift, who then came under control of Commander William Mervine. The total strength of the two companies, depleted by detachments left in the south, was about forty men. At first it was intended that Ford should return south, for he reported that many of his horses were broken down and unable to perform the journey back to Los Angeles. His needs were ordered supplied from horses left in the north by Frémont. Swift

was first sent to San Juan, but on September 11 was instructed to move south with Ford.¹⁰⁷

Then came an alarm because of the return to California from Oregon by chief Yellow Serpent of the Walla Wallas with about forty of his followers. Reprisals were feared because Yellow Serpent's son had been killed at Sutter's Fort a few winters before. On September 12, Mervine supplied Ford's men with clothing and available ammunition, and ordered Ford to San Juan where he was to unite with Swift and thence proceed to Sutter's Fort, picking up Purser Daingerfield Fauntleroy and his naval detachment if met en route.¹⁰⁸

Up to this time, the men of Ford and Swift, and doubtless all the volunteers in Frémont's battalion, had been serving without pay, "for patriotism alone," and without a definite prescribed period of service. On September 14, Mervine received from Captains Ford and Swift "a joint communication stating that the men under their command considered their engagements fulfilled and refused to march from San Juan until some new arrangements," with Stockton "could be entered into."¹⁰⁹ The reason underlying the communication was not clear to Mervine, but he believed that pay was the issue and therefore wrote to Ford the same day:

Every officer and man, whose services are accepted, is entitled to receive the Rank, Pay and emoluments of the corresponding grades of the Army of the United States—what other terms they desire I am at a loss to conjecture. On receipt of this you will permit every man under your orders, who desires to serve his country, and I may add, their own firesides—on this pressing occasion, to join Capt. D. Fauntleroy who is ordered to proceed instantler, to the Sacramento. . . .¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, the "Walla Walla invasion" proved a false alarm, since Yellow Serpent came to talk and trade, not fight. On September 15, Mervine ordered Fauntleroy to return to Monterey, adding, "You will please notify Capt. H. L. Ford that Commodore Stockton desires to see him."¹¹¹ Whatever may have transpired at the meeting between Stockton and Ford, it is plain that, on the reorganization of the battalion, definite periods of service and pay were provided for.

By the end of September, John Brown, called "Juan Flaco," arrived after a fast and adventuresome ride, bearing to Stockton from the south authentic news of a most alarming nature.

Stockton, believing the situation well in hand, had left Los Angeles for Monterey on September 2. Before departing he appointed Frémont military commandant for California with orders to recruit his battalion to 300 men and to report to Yerba Buena on October 25. Gillespie, made commandant of the southern district, was left with about fifty men at Los Angeles. That number was reduced by the sending of Ezekiel Merritt with a small group to San Diego.

Stockton learned at Santa Barbara of the existence of war with Mexico and arrived at Monterey September 15. Frémont moved north with about forty

men, detached Lieutenant Talbot at Santa Barbara with nine men, and came to the vicinity of Soledad in late September.

On September 2, one Sérbulo Varela and others made an ineffective attack on Gillespie at Los Angeles. The next day Varela, his force grown to over 300, issued a proclamation to the populace urging them to repel the invaders. Gillespie then dispatched Brown with a message to Stockton apprising him of the revolt. Varela was joined by José María Flores as comandante, and by Gen. José Antonio Carrillo and Capt. Andrés Pico. At Chino rancho, east of Los Angeles, on September 27, Varela attacked Benjamin D. Wilson and a party of twenty left by Stockton to protect the San Bernardino frontier. After several casualties on each side, Wilson's force surrendered to Varela. Gillespie, far outnumbered, was allowed by Flores to withdraw from Los Angeles to San Pedro, where he boarded the *Vandalia*. Talbot took to the mountains with his Santa Barbara garrison, while Merritt at San Diego, joined by Bidwell from San Luis Rey, took refuge on the whaler, *Stonington*. Thus, within a period of about ten days, the Americans lost control in the south.

Under orders from Stockton, Captain Mervine sailed from San Francisco Bay with 350 men and arrived at San Pedro on October 6. Gillespie joining, the combined force moved on Los Angeles the next day without mounts or cannon. The Californians were supplied with both, and so served their cannon that a half-dozen Americans were killed and an equal number were wounded. Mervine then returned to San Pedro and boarded his ship. Stockton arrived at San Pedro from the north on October 23, landed there on the twenty-seventh, but changed his mind and went to San Diego early in November, where he remained for a month engaged in consolidating his position and in obtaining horses and beef cattle.¹¹²

About October 13, Frémont, with some 160 men, started south from San Francisco Bay on the merchantman, *Sterling*. Speaking the *Vandalia*, and learning of Mervine's reverse and the lack of available horses in the south, Frémont landed at Monterey on October 28, determined to increase his force, obtain horses, and march overland. On landing, Frémont received word that he had been appointed lieutenant colonel by the President on May 27.¹¹³

There were nine companies in the battalion when its reorganization was completed in November. Besides the companies A, B, and C, commanded respectively by Owens, Ford, and Swift, the following companies were added: D, Capt. John Sears; E, Capt. John Grigsby; F, Capt. Lansford W. Hastings; G, Capt. Bluford K. Thompson; H, Capt. Richard K. Jacob; and an artillery company under Capt. Louis McLane.

After making a long inland detour from Santa Barbara and suffering much hardship, 1st Lieut. Theodore Talbot rejoined and was appointed adjutant, vice Gillespie. Other staff officers were Maj. Pierson B. Reading, paymaster;

Maj. Jacob R. Snyder, quartermaster; Maj. William H. Russell, ordnance officer; Capt. Henry King, commissary of subsistence; Edward Gilchrist, surgeon; and Albert Anselin, assistant surgeon.¹¹⁴

Considerable recruiting for the battalion had continued during Frémont's absence on the *Sterling*. Fortunately, hundreds of emigrants from the east had arrived recently, and many of these enlisted. Sears' and Grigsby's units, both recruited mostly at Sonoma, were composed of settlers and emigrants. Hastings' men were nearly all members of the year's emigration. Thompson's company, recruited in November at San Jose, was from varied sources as will be shown later. Jacob's company, also enlisted in November, "contained a detachment of the tribe of San Joaquin Indians known as the horse-thief tribe," enlisted by Edwin Bryant, who became a lieutenant in the company. Most of McLane's company enlisted at Yerba Buena.¹¹⁵

Within the limits set for this work, it is found possible to detail the background of but few who served with this famous battalion. It is doubtful whether, in general, the members of any other comparable organization of volunteers had such adventuresome careers prior to their entry into the military service of the United States.

On November 11 and 12, Captain Ford had a new experience, that of sitting as one of the five members of a court-martial convened for the trial of three persons charged with lurking as spies. Each of the accused was found not guilty.¹¹⁶

Though some of the men of the battalion brought their mounts, it was essential that Frémont increase his mobility by gathering many horses and much riding equipment. These were necessarily commandeered, but in some instances subordinates failed to give the customary receipts. It was to the interest of enemy Californians to prevent horses from reaching Frémont. Through the latter circumstance occurred the only noteworthy battle casualties sustained by elements of Frémont's battalion during the conquest of California.

On October 23, Flores had appointed Manuel Castro, who had broken his parole, to the position of commandant in the north. Castro moved north and arrived in the vicinity of Soledad, on the Salinas, about November 12 with well over 100 men.¹¹⁷ On the night of November 15-16 a Castro detachment captured Thomas O. Larkin, the American consul, at the rancho of José Joaquín Gómez, some twenty miles northeast of Monterey. Larkin, who was en route to Yerba Buena, was escorted to Castro's camp and was taken south after the battle which followed.¹¹⁸

The Gómez rancho, granted in 1835, was named Vergeles, meaning "flower garden." The best available evidence indicates that Gómez' two-story adobe was located on the east slope of a small, bald hill immediately north of the junction of two creeks now named Gabilan and Mud. The ranch house and the hospitality dispensed there by Gómez are mentioned by

many travelers of the early days, Larkin, Sir James Douglas, Dr. William Maxwell Wood, and Lieut. William Tecumseh Sherman, among others. To-day, the ground shows only the dim outlines of the house and corral sites.

Adjoining Vergeles on the south, the rancho of Natividad (Nativity) was granted in 1837 to Manuel Burrón and Nicolás Alviso, who built adobe houses bordering the large hill mass on the east. A high hill, now called Sugar Loaf, is the most prominent feature of the terrain and overlooks both ranchos from a position near their common boundary.

While Vergeles is broken by ridges and valleys radiating south from the Gabilan range, Natividad has much level ground, traversed by Gabilan Creek. Cart roads entered Natividad from Monterey and from the upper Salinas Valley and joined about a half-mile south of a lagunita (little lake) near the boundary between the two ranchos. Thence there led over the Gabilan Range to San Juan Bautista three rough trails, one of which followed up Mud Creek past the Gómez place.

Vergeles and Natividad are each somewhat triangular in form, and the two join in an outline roughly resembling that of an hour-glass. It was there that the sands of time ran out for those killed during an engagement known as the battle of Natividad, fought by Americans and Californians on November 16, 1846.

November 15 there arrived at San Juan Bautista two increments of men destined for Frémont's battalion at Monterey. One was a group, under Capt. Charles D. Burrass, of about 34 men from the Sacramento. Burrass escorted a band of horses estimated as high as 500 in number. The other group was of about 35 men, recently recruited at San Jose, under Capt. Bluford K. Thompson. Edward C. Kemble, a member, describes this company and its leader:

The San Jose company was made up of American rancheros, runaway sailors, Englishmen, Germans and negroes—the most motley crew that ever fought under one flag (except a death's head and crossbones) and commanded by a Southern dare-devil, at once a desperado and a gentleman, if you can imagine such a commingling of opposite characters, known as B. K. Thompson, or red-haired Thompson, and sometimes (let me not shock ears polite) as "h--- (infernal pit) roaring Thompson."¹¹⁹

Burrass, with his party, a small cannon, and horses, preceded by a few scouts, moved south through a gap in the Gabilan Range on the morning of the sixteenth and reached the Gómez rancho. The advance party, under Joseph E. Foster, included James Hayes, two Delawares named Tom Hill and Jim Simonds, and several Walla Wallas. This party passed the lagunita, entered the Natividad plain, sighted Castro's force advancing north, and withdrew to a small grove of oaks (encinalito) on lower ground. Castro's men surrounded the oaks and a brisk fight was under way.

Burrass, notified of the predicament of the scouts by some of the Walla Wallas, saw that he was far outnumbered and that it would be folly to attack.

He sent a messenger for the aid of the company at San Juan, and prepared for defense.

Thompson had that morning left San Juan for Monterey with a few men. Taking a different route, he also encountered the enemy, was chased by them, and galloped into the San Juan camp shouting to his men: "Saddle up! Get your horses! We're going to have a fight! Hip—ya!" Then followed a wild scene of catching and mounting the frightened animals. Soon the San Jose company was tearing through the gap, scattering poorly secured gear along the way. It needed no guidon, for in the lead on his iron-grey stud was Thompson, sorrel locks flying in the wind. Soon the command was strung out over several miles, but all joined Burrass.

At the distant grove, occasional puffs of smoke showed that the scouts had not been entirely overcome. Foster had been killed early in the fight, and Hayes was wounded. Tom Hill was lanced in the hand, but tomahawked his opponent. Several Californians had been killed and the Delawares had scalps to prove it. The Californians who were wounded were "raised up" by their comrades with a fine display of horsemanship. Most of the Californians, lances and muskets in hand, could be seen drawn up in the distance, but they showed no inclination to advance on the American main force. The cannon brought by Burrass was found useless, since no charges had been prepared for it.

Thompson was all for an immediate attack, but Burrass declined, pointing out his responsibility for the horses, and the superior numbers and better mounts of the Californians. Finally, accused of cowardice, Burrass agreed. A horse guard of fifteen men was detailed. The men were counted off, and orders were given for the alternate firing and loading by numbers 1 and 2—to insure that half the men would always be prepared to fire.

Burrass then took a position in the lead on Frémont's grey charger, "Sacramento," a present from Sutter to Frémont. Out from the "Garden of the Flowers" trotted, then loped, fifty-five Americans against Californians at least twice their number. The Californians' fire had become quite general when the Americans dismounted and replied.

Had but half the Americans fired at that time and reloaded at once, the ensuing debacle might have been prevented. Nearly all forgot instructions and determined to fire before the enemy could withdraw. Someone cried "Char-r-ge!" In a moment the volunteers were on their horses, "and with empty upraised rifles, rushed pell-mell upon the foe." The Californian center gave way, but their left charged through the helpless Americans—helpless because empty rifles were no defense against lances and loaded weapons in the hands of those fine horsemen. Burrass was shot in the breast and killed. Also killed at this time were Hiram Ames and one Thorne. James Cash, William McGlone and Henry Marshall were wounded. A few Americans had reloaded after their first volley, and these resisted the attack of the Califor-

nians, who did not press their advantage further, but withdrew to the south and left the field to the Americans.

The Delaware, Tom Hill, came out of the oaks, waving the scalps of his victims. A thoroughly chastened Thompson led the Americans back to the Gómez ranch house, taking with him the American dead except Foster.

The casualties on each side had been about equal. The large drove of horses had been saved for Frémont's battalion. Had this not been the case, Frémont's later march south would have been much delayed, with problematical results as to the time, place, and circumstances of the termination of the war in California. Captain Ford later wrote an account of the battle, undoubtedly based on first-hand accounts he obtained. His terse criticism of the American tactics was: "The rifle was never calculated for a charge when it can be used with greater effect at a distance."¹²⁰

Since an attack was feared, Thompson sent Tom Hill and Charley McIntosh, a half-breed, to Frémont at Monterey with information of the situation. The hill at the Gómez place was prepared for defense, and pickets were posted. The cannon was placed on the hill, and loads were prepared. The bodies of the dead, wrapped in blankets, were on the porch of the ranch house. A Frenchman named Dague administered to the wounded. Even a scalp dance of the Walla Wallas failed to dispel the general gloom.

The next morning, the seventeenth, the bodies of Burrass, Ames, and Thorne were buried on the hill, and three volleys were fired over the graves. It was that afternoon when the lookouts reported an approaching force. The companies manned the hill, the little cannon was trained, and coals were brought from a camp fire to enable its discharge. The anxious watchers saw a mounted column emerge from the woods in "perfect order," supported by skirmishers on each flank. At the head was a strange device, an eagle on a field of blue. A bugle played a reasonable imitation of "Yankee Doodle."

The men on the hill broke out in cheers, only to be silenced when the again confident Thompson ordered them to form in open ranks facing inward, to receive their comrades with due ceremony. "Then," says Kemble, "as the bugle played a lively march, and the column began to ascend the hill, the valiant chargers of the Salinas opened their ragged ranks, like Joseph's coat, presented arms of all sorts, shapes, and sizes, and with Fremont at their head . . . the famous battalion of '46 marched through." In the relief force were Owens, Ford, Swift, Sears, Grigsby, and Hastings, with their companies.

The body of Foster was buried, where he fell, at the foot of an oak which was carved with the inscription "FOSTER—1846." A large wooden cross was erected on a hill near the road, probably the hill on which the other American dead were buried. The Californian dead were said to have been buried on the Natividad rancho near the Alviso place.

After some attempt to locate the Californians, Frémont moved to San Juan, where he continued his work of organization and supply. McLane was

sent to Gilroy to mount his cannon.¹²¹ Kemble tells of the equipment and clothing of the battalion:

Officers and men furnished their own horses, so far as they were able, and brought with them into the service their own arms, ammunition and clothing. The weapons were rifles, and in the hands of men generally well acquainted with their use. Some of the sailor volunteers carried the old-fashioned ship's carbine, and there was here and there a musket of revolutionary pattern. The only equipment universally worn was the ancient powder horn, material for which could be picked on the plains anywhere, and the making of which served to while away the time in camp. It was noticeable that Jack, with his carbine or old flint-lock, usually carried the handsomest powder horn, sparing no labor on its ornamentation and polish.

The only article of clothing issued to the battalion by the United States was the sailor's common blue flannel shirt, with broad collar and a star worked with white thread in each corner. This, worn over other clothing and gathered around the waist by the broad, greasy, leather belt—from which was depended hunting knife and pistols—was the only uniform of the battalion. Most of the men wore buckskin trowsers, sometimes fringed down the outer seam with buckskin and red flannel intermixed, moccasins on their feet, and their heads crowned with the broad-rimmed Mexican hat, minus the black oil-silk cover. A narrow band of red flannel around the hat was in high favor among those who, from long life on the frontier seemed to have acquired the Indian fondness for bright colors.

The bullets, "patching" and percussion caps of our riflemen were carried in a pouch of leather or badger-skin, slung over the shoulder and dropping on the left side, opposite the powder-horn. The only other universal article of equipment was the hunting or sheath knife, thrust in its leather case, and, like the spades in General McClellan's army during the late [Civil] war, no weapon carried by the volunteers under Fremont came out brighter at the close of the campaign. Those sheath knives were sword and pruning hook combined, with which we carved our way into the enemy's country, slaughtering his beeves, clearing the ground for camp and preparing food for our mouths. No other domestic article of individual use could be seen around the camp-fire, except at the messes of the highly-favored few, save this knife and a common tin cup. There were company kettles and fry-pans, but usually the beef was roasted on sticks set before the fire, and the mess gathering around attacked it with their knives.¹²²

Here should be corrected any false impression of the battalion that may persist because of the rough dress, the simple habits of its members, and the doings of its least responsible element. This was not merely a cross section, but a sizable portion of those available to represent America on a distant frontier. Most of the volunteers had come overland to California. The physically weak and those lacking in self-reliance and courage had undergone an initial screening upon contemplating the trip to the west. Then there had been a further elimination on the trail. The end product was one of toughened fiber. Even a casual inspection of the available life records of hundreds of the officers and men leads to the conclusion that, on the whole, the five hundred odd who served in this organization at one time or another proved excellent citizen material for the California to come.¹²³

The foregoing remarks, modified as to numbers only, apply no less to the members of the original Bear party, notwithstanding a condemnation dis-

playing in some cases actual umbrage, which they received from Bancroft and others.

Kemble describes the departure of the battalion from San Juan Bautista:

It was now late in November and the rainy season had set in with unusual severity. The battalion was ill-prepared for a Winter campaign even in this hospitable climate. The horses which we were to ride were so poor in flesh that they were certain to fail along the march. The men were insufficiently provided with overcoats and blankets and our commissary was absolutely empty. A scant supply of flour and sugar and cocoa beans were served out at San Juan, and the beef of the country must furnish our staple article of diet. On the 26th [more probably the 28th as Bryant avers] the command was given to break up camp and march, and with our forlorn little flags waving and our single and sorry bugle playing its merriest, the battalion unwound its coil about the mission and stretched out in a southerly direction, leaving the main roads and striking into the hills and canyons. We might have taken at this point an affecting farewell of highways and civilization, for we saw very little of either henceforward until we reached Los Angeles.¹²⁴

With the lesson of Natividad fresh in mind, and with an engineer's eye for terrain, Frémont selected a route almost a model for defense against a mechanized force of today. Says he, "There was no point on the line which I chose for my march from San Juan to San Fernando—no camp by night—where I could have been taken at a disadvantage."¹²⁵

Ten miles were made the first day, and the camp for the night was on an arroyo south of San Juan. The next day camp was made after an eight-mile march in the rain. The foraging party being unable to find beeves in the vicinity, a company was sent back to the mission "and drove in all the cattle in the neighborhood and rejoined us," says Bryant, who had joined meanwhile with his "Horse-thief" recruits. Every afternoon a dozen or more beeves were slaughtered to meet the daily requirement of ten pounds of beef per man. The small store of flour and brown sugar was nearly exhausted, some having "melted away in the rain from the backs of the pack mules." Soon little sweetening remained for the "coffee," made of parched wheat and corn. The forage situation was much worse, for the new grass was too short and the old grass contained little nutriment.¹²⁶

The march was resumed up the San Benito River on December 3, 1846, after the weather cleared. The route used by the battalion in crossing from the San Benito to the Salinas is a matter of conjecture. Frémont says that on December 7 the battalion "descended into the valley of the Salinas," and Bryant agrees that the valley was "reached" on that date. Accepting Bryant's statement that camp was made on December 10 in a grove "three or four miles south" of San Miguel Mission, and accepting his and Grigsby's mileage figures, the camp of the seventh was apparently several miles southeast of the present King City. The march on the fifth, says Bryant, involved the passage of a "deep, brushy mountain gorge through which it was almost impossible to force the field pieces. In one place they were lowered with ropes down a steep and nearly perpendicular precipice."¹²⁷

At San Miguel, says Kemble, "we varied our fare with Mission mutton, and two or three companies were so fortunate as to get a few beans." Up to this time the terrain and the condition of the animals had caused many to march on foot. An order was now issued that all horses be placed in the common drove. On December 12 the entire battalion, from the colonel down, set forth on foot. The same day was captured an Indian, Santa María, a spy in the service of Jesús Pico. Of the Indian's fate after his trial and sentence, Kemble says: "On the morning of the 13th he was led out, the battalion forming three sides of a hollow square, and in the presence of the Indians of a neighboring rancharia, who had been forcibly compelled to attend as witnesses, the reputed dispatch-bearer was blindfolded and shot by a file of men drawn from the horse-guards."¹²⁸

Larkin Stanley of Company D, who had died of typhoid fever the preceding night, was buried the same morning, the battalion attending the ceremony. Then the march was resumed to Santa Margarita. On the fourteenth, after negotiating the pass over the Santa Lucia Range, an afternoon halt was made short of San Luis Obispo. A meal was served preparatory to a night movement on the mission, planned because of the reported presence of insurgents there. The battalion moved under cover of darkness and in heavy rain down onto the plain. Again, more by Kemble:

The companies were now thrown out so as to surround the Mission, and the whole command moved forward at a brisk pace. The watchword was "Jackson." Before we were aware, some of the beleaguering force were inside the walls, while others were beating about in the thick darkness and wind trying to discover the Mission. If the inmates of the old adobes were as much surprised as some of our company officers were when the halt was sounded, our first effort to surprise the enemy could not have proved altogether a failure, though, as a military maneuver, it was not a brilliant success. A few old ladies and black-eyed señoritas were captured, and on a ranch not far distant a party of our men laid hands on Tortorio [José de Jesús] Pico, the only prize taken in this night attack.¹²⁹

On December 15 Pico was brought in to the camp at the mission. There he was tried by court martial for breaking his parole by serving under Flores, and was sentenced to death. William F. Swasey tells that the battalion was ordered to parade on the plaza to witness Pico's execution. The prisoner, with Frémont and other officers, was in a room in the mission when Pico's wife and eight or nine of his children entered, clad in mourning. Swasey continues:

Among the officers present was Captain Richard Owens, that stern warrior, whose heart had never failed in the presence of a living foe, but whose eyes, as those of his brother officers, were now dim. Suddenly, he gave utterance to one word, "Colonel." It broke the spell. Fremont's face instantly relaxed its determined expression, and he exclaimed, "Yes, Dick, we had rather meet a thousand of them in the field to-morrow than take this one life." And, turning to the prisoner, he said, "You are pardoned; you are free." The prisoner immediately fell on his knees at Fremont's feet, and pressed the hem of his garment to his lips, exclaiming in Spanish: "My life is forfeit. You have given it back, and henceforth it shall be devoted to you."¹³⁰

Although some members of the battalion thought it unjust to put the Indian to death and free Pico, the leniency in Pico's case paid returns, as will appear later. Others captured about the same time were released, and Pico accompanied the battalion on the march which was resumed on the seventeenth.

Reaching the sea at Pismo beach, a quite direct and inland course which avoided the coastal Gaviota Pass was laid for Santa Barbara. The route selected by Frémont possibly approximated in reverse that used by him on his trip north in September 1846. It presented no important difficulties except the San Marcos Pass in the Santa Ynez Mountains north of Santa Barbara. On December 18, camp was made at the Nipomo rancho of William G. Dana, and eighteen miles were made up the Santa Maria River on the nineteenth. The next day a short march took the battalion to Benjamin (William Domingo) Foxen's Tinaquaic rancho. On the twenty-first, the divide into the Santa Ynez watershed was crossed, and camp was made about four miles from Santa Ynez Mission and near present-day Los Olivos. Definitely turning away from the last chance to use the easier Gaviota Pass route, Frémont the next day led the straggling battalion fifteen miles up the Santa Ynez Valley.¹³¹

In retrospect Frémont has been criticized for his choice of the more difficult route, some indicating that he wished to avoid the possibility of ambush along the coastal route. Actually Frémont's facilities for gathering information were much inferior to those of the Californians. He did not share the contempt of many of his men for the efficiency of the Californians in open combat. Therefore he chose to approach Santa Barbara from the heights on the north rather than along the more open passageway near the coast. In planning that maneuver he had to consider the fatigue of his men and animals, and the difficulty of moving his cannon through San Marcos Pass by what was merely a short-cut path between the Santa Ynez Valley and Santa Barbara.

(To be continued)

NOTES

105. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 261-281 for a discussion of this campaign in the south. Battalion sick reports, July 31-Aug. 7, 1846, are in "Pacific Slope MSS," II (CST).

106. San Jose *Pioneer*, Nov. 8, 1879.

107. Mervine, Letters Sent Book (NA), to Montgomery, Sept. 12, 1846; to Fauntleroy, Sept. 4, 1846; to Swift, Sept. 5 and 11, 1846.

108. *Ibid.*, to Ford, Sept. 12, 1846.

109. *Ibid.*, to Stockton, Sept. 16, 1846.

110. *Ibid.*, to Ford, Sept. 14, 1846.

111. *Ibid.*, to Fauntleroy, Sept. 15, 1846.

112. The foregoing additional developments in the south are condensed from Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 303-25.
113. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, 1850), pp. 79, 82.
114. Data on units and staff from rolls in (NA) and (C).
115. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 357; Edward C. Kemble in *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871.
116. Proceedings, in Jacob R. Snyder Collection (CSP).
117. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 361-363, for details.
118. Larkin "Docs.," IV, 333, 347.
119. "K." [E. C. Kemble], "The Battle of Salinas," *Sacramento Daily Union*, Nov. 23, 1869. The designation "Battle of Natividad," used by Bancroft, is to be preferred since it fixes the locale on the Natividad rancho.
120. The foregoing account is based largely on Edward C. Kemble, an eye-witness, in *California Star* (San Francisco), Aug. 21, 1847; *Sacramento Daily Union*, Nov. 23, 1869, Nov. 18, Dec. 2, 1871. Among the best Californian accounts consulted are Vicente P. Gómez, MS "Lo que sabe," pp. 31-35, 49-52, 316-33; and José A. Alviso, MS "Recollections concerning the Campaign of Natividad," both in (CUB). Ford's MS "The Battle of Salinas," n.d. [ca. 1854] is in (CSP). Reference to the engagement is condensed in the present work, since Ford did not arrive at the site until the following day, but the outcome had an important relation to Frémont's operations. The full and correctly spelled name of Burrass, often garbled, is obtained from his MS note to Fremont, Oct. 26, 1846, in Liedesdorff papers at (CUB). The full names of Foster and Ames are from records of P. B. Reading, paymaster, at (C).
121. Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 596.
122. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871.
123. See Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 595.
124. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871.
125. Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 595. For a detailed study see Guy J. and Helen S. Giffen, "Tracing Frémont's Route with the California Battalion . . .," *Quarterly, Hist. Soc. of Southern Calif.*, XXII (March 1940), 5-32.
126. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 369.
127. Frémont, "Geographical Memoir upon Upper California," in 30th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Misc. Doc. 5, p. 601; Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-72; MS "John Grigsby Papers" (CUB), 9.
128. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 3, 1871.
129. *Ibid.*
130. William F. Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
131. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-79.

Jeptha H. Wade in California

Beginning the Transcontinental Telegraph

By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

THE question of the construction of a transcontinental telegraph line was frequently discussed during the decade of the 1850's, but no definite step was taken until the passage of the Pacific Telegraph Act on July 16, 1860. The act authorized the secretary of the treasury to advertise for sealed bids for the erection of a telegraph line from Missouri to San Francisco. Construction was to be carried out within two years after July 31, 1860; the contract was to be awarded for a term of ten years to the lowest bidder, providing his bid did not require more than \$40,000 subsidy per year from the government.¹

In August 1860, the North American Telegraph Association, formed two years before to protect and advance the interests of the members, convened in New York for its annual meeting. Chief topic for discussion was the new statute.² The majority of the associates showed little enthusiasm for the undertaking, under the conditions laid down by the government; (1) they had favored a \$50,000 yearly subsidy, which the government had reduced by twenty per cent; (2) the act provided that the maximum charge for a single dispatch of ten words was to be three dollars—a twenty-five per cent reduction from the rate desired by the North American Telegraph Association; (3) exception was taken to the provision calling for award of the contract as a result of secret bidding; (4) there were hazards in undertaking such a project: the danger of Indian attack, the presence of giant herds of buffalo which might be a constant menace to the poles; (5) would there be enough business to yield a profit commensurate with the great cost?³

The lead in the discussion was taken by Robert W. Russell of the American Telegraph Co., who was determined to block any action which might have favored his chief rival in the North American Telegraph Association, viz., the Western Union. He introduced a series of resolutions at the meeting which he thought succeeded in shelving the troublesome matter of the overland telegraph for at least another year. However, Hiram Sibley, president of Western Union, who had already decided to undertake the project alone if the other members of the Association refused to support him, had his company's secretary introduce *another* resolution, that any member of the Association was to remain free "either alone or in connection with other parties, to bid under the said Act. . . ."⁴ According to the Western Union's president, the purpose of the resolution was to make it possible for an Association member to put in a bid, if necessary, to prevent action by a non-member company.⁵ The resolution was adopted without protest. The delaying action,

sponsored earlier by Russell of the American Telegraph Co., had, inadvertently, played into the hands of the Western Union's president, Hiram Sibley.

Immediately after the North American Telegraph Association adjourned its meeting, a bid was entered with Secretary of the Treasury Howell Cobb, in the name of Hiram Sibley for \$40,000. Four bids, ranging from \$25,000 to Sibley's \$40,000, were entered for the contract. Upon withdrawal of the other three bidders (through agreement with Sibley or not, is not clear), Cobb had no choice but to award it to Sibley, whose highest, maximum bid had now become the lowest;⁶ and on September 20, 1860, Cobb communicated the government's acceptance of the \$40,000 bid to the Western Union's president.

The next move was to dispatch some capable person to California to organize the chaotic telegraph industry there. Sibley chose Jephtha Homer Wade (b. 1811; d. 1890) of Cleveland, Ohio, who had become interested in the telegraph industry in 1844 and had constructed a series of lines, known as the "Wade lines"—one from Detroit to Milwaukee, another from Detroit to Buffalo via Cleveland, and, also, the Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Louis Co. In 1854, he consolidated his lines with those of Royal E. House, giving them control of most of the lines in the "Old Northwest." By 1856 most of Wade's and House's interests had been consolidated with the Western Union.⁷ Sibley's confidence in Wade is shown by the fact that he was given plenary power to make any settlement in California which seemed to him advisable. To quote Wade:

I was more sanguine than most others and the board referred the whole matter to me in the broadest language as a committee of one, with full power, to build where, when and how, alone or with others, or not at all, as I might think best.⁸

Wade's first official act was to send Edward Creighton, an old hand at planning and building telegraph lines, to study the western plains and get all available information on a possible route, the timber supply, water, Indians, and the Mormons. Creighton made his base at Salt Lake City. In November 1860, he sent a complete report to Wade, who immediately departed by sea for California where he arrived on December 15, 1860, with, as he says, a severe cold and a partially formulated plan to achieve unity among the several telegraphic interests in the state.⁹ He found four rival companies: (1) the California State Telegraph Co., directed by Horace W. Carpentier; (2) James Street's Pacific Atlantic Telegraph Co.; (3) the Bee brothers' Placer-ville, Humboldt, and Salt Lake line; and (4) the Northern California Telegraph Co., directed by I. M. Hubbard. Each was anxious to make some kind of an arrangement with Western Union, but all were unwilling to allow the others a share in the enterprise. Wade felt that the interests of the Western Union and the four California companies would best be served by an entirely new company, consisting, as he says, of some

well selected and responsible capitalists & a few of the best & controlling men of each of the several Co.'s. The first to furnish the money necessary to extend the line & give us a responsible Co. to treat with & the latter through their interests & influence to give to the new Co. the control of the present ones as well as to add by this efficiency to the working of the new Co.¹⁰

For three months Wade tried to convince the California magnates of the wisdom of his suggestions. Each of the four rivals began advancing reasons why Wade should treat with it, alone, and exclude the other three. The California State Telegraph Co. was in the most enviable position: it had the exclusive right to use the Morse patent in California, and it had a charter from the legislature giving the company the sole right to do telegraphic business within the state. Wade said that this feature of the charter was "ridiculous" but lamented that, "in the absence of any decision to that effect by the courts," Horace Carpentier, president of the company, would "doubtless claim it as one of their strong points." Wade characterized Carpentier as a "technical, disagreeable lawyer," a "pretty good hand to pick up chips"; he compared him to Robert W. Russell of the American Telegraph Co., mentioned above as an earlier foe of Western Union.¹¹ From the beginning, Wade saw that to bring the four California companies into a new organization would not be easy. He was especially worried that they might combine their interests in such a way as to dictate terms to him.¹²

On December 29, 1860, two days after making his first brief report to the home office, Wade wrote to Edward Creighton, his agent at Salt Lake City, that as yet his conferences with representatives of the California interests had brought no favorable results. Creighton had been discussing the proposed line with the Mormons, and he suggested to Wade that they should be sold stock in the venture; but Wade was doubtful that this would be a good idea because he felt that they would want to interfere too much in the operation of the line.

Both Wade and Creighton agreed that the first section should be built from Fort Churchill to Salt Lake City. In Wade's opinion, a second line should be erected, as soon as practicable, from Los Angeles via Santa Fe and Denver which would join the first somewhere north of Denver. He had already met representatives from towns between El Paso and Denver and had been assured that the people living in the area were so enthusiastic about a telegraph line that sufficient money could be raised along the route to complete construction. Building a line with funds raised along the right of way had been attempted successfully by the Western Union several years earlier, when a line was built through Missouri. Wade was pleased to learn that funds would be obtainable so readily for a southern route, and he told Creighton that, in the event of failure in San Francisco, it would be expedient to construct the Los Angeles line first; but he doubted that he would fail in San Francisco.¹³ Creighton was instructed to forego further examination of the Salt Lake route. He was to proceed south through Denver and Santa Fe to

El Paso with the expectation of planning a line to Los Angeles. Later his orders were changed; a Salt Lake-Los Angeles route might be found that was "unobstructed during winter."¹⁴ But the threat that Western Union would abandon the central route in favor of a southern was always present, and this may have provided Wade with a lever to force various interests into accepting his scheme for a partnership.

Through January 1861, Wade continued his negotiations with the California lines and reported that "things seem to be working favorably though slow."¹⁵ He had spoken to several "heavy money lenders" who showed considerable interest in supporting the venture, but Wade had been unwilling to agree to anything definite because of their insistence upon receiving from two to six per cent interest per month. He wrote that the term "annual interest" was unknown throughout the west. In his view,

This grows partly out of the hasty, excitable and consequently uncertain state of society. A month here is as long in some respects as a year in the older states & really this is a "great country." The more I study it the more I am satisfied must be our business between this country and the Atlantic states.¹⁶

The men, whom Wade was attempting to interest in financing his plan, not only asked exorbitant interest rates but they objected also to his idea of forming a new company. They proposed, instead, that the Western Union should make a separate agreement with them, and then, by the use of what Wade called "lemon squeezer tactics," force the California companies to come to terms which would be less advantageous to the latter. Wade opposed this suggestion; he continued to hold out for his original plan of a new company based on the admission of the four California organizations. Two of these, the Northern California Telegraph Co. and the Pacific Atlantic Telegraph Co., were agreeable to Wade's proposal and were willing to enter if they were given fair terms, but Horace Carpentier and Frederick Bee objected. Carpentier did not object to the plan of a union, but since his California State Telegraph Co. was in a superior position, both financially and from the standpoint of its charter rights, he and his officers were unwilling to enter the agreement on a basis of equality with the other companies—they wished to exclude the California moneyed men, whom Wade was seeking to include, and then force the other three lines to accept a subordinate position in the proposed new company. Neither Wade nor Carpentier would back down from the position each had taken.¹⁷

As to Frederick Bee's Placerville, Humboldt, and Salt Lake Co., it was the poorest of the four lines in California. Stock had been issued in the amount of \$250,000, although the outlay for construction had been slightly in excess of \$15,000.¹⁸ The Bee brothers controlled less than ten per cent of the stock; by manipulation and proxies, however, they managed to remain in control, skim the profits, and pocket some perquisites. A committee investigating the finances of the company, reported in part to the stockholders:

It is impossible for us to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the manner in which he [Frederick Bee] has collected and expended the funds of the company. The manner in which he renders his accounts is not satisfactory to your Committee and we urgently recommend to you the importance and absolute necessity of referring the matter to some special agent, or to a meeting of the stockholders. . . .¹⁹

Wade suspected that the Bee brothers' reluctance to enter the new arrangement was prompted by their unwillingness to give up their takings in the Placerville line.²⁰ The line was so poorly constructed that it was frequently referred to as "Bee's grapevine."²¹ One contemporary wrote:

The telegraph line between Placerville and Fort Churchill is in the most wretched condition. At many points between Miller's Station and Fort Churchill the wire is slack and lying on the ground. The posts are small and not strong enough to hold up the wire, and placed in positions where they are liable to be removed every day. In many places the wire is lying on sage brushes. . . .²²

The previous year, Bee had gone to Washington where he made demands "of the most unreasonable character." One of the men present at the interview in Washington, President Charles M. Stebbins of the Missouri & Western Telegraph Co., wrote on January 7, 1861, to the Sacramento *Daily Union*, saying that Bee was well received in Washington, but the eastern telegraph magnates had turned against him when he demanded that his line be given the right to build east to Salt Lake City. Once receiving this right, it was his intention to return to California and assume a dictatorial position in relation to the other lines. Bee would accept no compromise; and the eastern owners decided, in view of the fact that he had no patent rights and his line was so clumsily constructed, to disregard him. Doubt was expressed as to his capacity for building and operating a line.²³

Frederick Bee's opposition did not prove insuperable, for his own company refused to sustain his demand for dictatorial power west of Salt Lake City. This was brought out in the editorial battle which was going on between Bee and his opponents.²⁴ Bee had written a letter in the Sacramento *Daily Union* on December 4, 1860, in which he claimed that several eastern telegraphic interests opposed the central route and favored the overland (a name suggested by John Butterfield's "Overland Mail" route via Los Angeles). Bee was especially critical of Charles M. Stebbins of the Missouri & Western Telegraph Co., who, according to Bee, was working in favor of the southern route. In reply, Stebbins had written the letter referred to above, which appeared in the *Daily Union* on January 30, 1861. Immediately Bee demanded of Wade that he reply to Stebbins's letter, but Wade refused on the grounds that he was not fully informed of the true facts in the case.²⁵

Before the Stebbins letter appeared in the California press, H. R. Elstner, secretary of Bee's company, wrote a letter in the Placerville *Mountain Democrat* in which he was very critical of Bee and claimed that he did not speak for the majority of the stockholders.²⁶ It was on the basis of Elstner's letter that Stebbins concluded as early as January seventh that "Mr. Wade, if he

finds them so well disposed as Mr. Elstner represents, will have no trouble in making an arrangement satisfactory to all parties."²⁷ This appears to have been correct, for, in spite of Frederick Bee's opposition, the Placerville, Humboldt, & Salt Lake Telegraph Co. agreed to become a member of the partnership. When the transactions were completed, Albert W. Bee's name appeared among the board members of the newly organized Pacific Telegraph Co.; his brother Frederick's was absent.

The Placerville line was won over, but not Carpentier's California State Telegraph Co. At the height of the negotiations early in January 1861, Carpentier was called out of town on unexpected business. He promised Wade that he would return within a day or two, but he continued to absent himself while he sent daily messages to his associates that he was being detained on further business. Wade was not taken in: "I smell a rat," he wrote to Elwood, "that he is keeping away on purpose to avoid action or definite talk till he can try the strength of their patent."²⁸

According to their charter, the California State Telegraph line was permitted the sole right to do telegraphic business in California; it also had the exclusive right to use the Morse patent. Acting under these privileges, the company brought suit against the Northern California Telegraph Co., whose line joined the State's at Marysville, in an effort to enjoin operations of the Northern's system. The case was pending in the California courts early in January, and Wade was probably correct in assuming that Carpentier had deliberately left town to disrupt negotiations until the decision of the court could be learned. A decision to grant an injunction against the Northern's line would have affected, also, the Pacific Atlantic Telegraph Co., whose line joined the California State Telegraph's at San Jose, and might have made it impossible for Wade to achieve union among the California interests. Carpentier would then have "put on airs . . . [that Western Union] would not accede to." There was a possible alternative: James Street of the Pacific Atlantic Telegraph Co. had control of the Van Choate patent and had six of these instruments en route to California at that moment.²⁹ Wade felt that these instruments would serve the purpose until the California State Telegraph Co.'s exclusive right to the Morse patent expired. In the meantime, Wade and the others would build from San Jose to San Francisco and thence to Sacramento and Marysville, and finally to Placerville where contact would be made with Bee's line to Fort Churchill. Wade, however, admitted to Elwood that he preferred not to resort to this alternative; he still hoped to do business with all the rival interests.³⁰

In Salt Lake City, Creighton continued to keep in close touch with Wade and asked that he be permitted to travel east to Kearney, Nebraska, perfecting arrangements and letting contracts as he went. Wade replied that he had confidence that, given time, he would be able to come to terms with the California lines, and he advised Creighton to remain in Salt Lake City. He

did not approve of his lieutenant's plan for letting contracts between Salt Lake and Kearney because, as he said,

... it would at once be known that we had located the line and they would even see that we were depending on arrangements with parties here to build this end which would set us back more than it would help us & might defeat altogether the arrangement we want to make so we are unsafe in showing our hand.³¹

Wade was reluctant to give any appearance that his company was definitely committed to the central route.³²

On January 24, 1861, he made the first full report of his activities in the west to Western Union headquarters. He confessed that things had not moved as smoothly as his first two letters indicated they would. "If this was the first Tel. negotiation I had ever been engaged in I should be swearing mad, sick, disgusted with the whole thing and enough so perhaps to take the first steamer for home," he wrote to Isaac Elwood.³³ He said that for the first few days he was in San Francisco he had spoken in general terms with representatives of the various parties. All freely admitted that his proposal to create a new company was excellent. When they met together to discuss details and agree on figures, some became so angry that open violence was threatened; on two occasions pistols were brandished by the conferees. Wade and the others succeeded in restraining those bent on overrating themselves and underrating their competitors,³⁴ but the conferees' attitude was frightening the capitalists, and Wade feared that, even if he were successful in allaying the disagreements among rival telegraph companies, they might be unable to build for want of sufficient capital.

In this January 1861 report Wade recommended that even if he could not put through the four-way partnership, Western Union should not hesitate to undertake construction alone. He felt, he said, that the line would be profitable; he reminded his associates in Rochester of the \$46,000 yearly subsidy (\$40,000 from the federal government and \$6,000 from California) which would be made available to them; in addition, the line would be competing against a slow mail. To show confidence in these views, he asked for \$30,000 worth of stock for his own account.³⁵

On January 25 Wade had a formal meeting with the representatives of the four companies. He had anticipated a violent outburst, but nothing serious happened. The talk was conciliatory, and a resolution was adopted that each company furnish Wade with a full statement of its line, so that he might be able to recommend a plan for uniting their interests.³⁶ This spirit of conciliation did not by any means indicate that the bickering was over. A few days later, Wade wrote to his home office that all was still "confusion and discord. . . . Some of the parties seem to have some surplus fight to work off before they want to act rationally and for their interest."³⁷ And the law suit, mentioned above, was still pending. Wade complained, also, of the lack of help and advice he was receiving from Rochester. He had received, he said,

only one letter from President Sibley, reiterating his faith that Wade would find a suitable settlement.³⁸

While waiting for the four companies to provide him with a statement of their present business and future prospects, Wade went to Sacramento. He met the governor (John G. Downey) and several members of the legislature. He reported to the home office that most of them were favorably inclined toward the proposed telegraph line and indicated their willingness to grant a special charter allowing the companies to consolidate, if a majority of each company chose to do so; but, until such time arrived, Wade thought that it would be foolish to request legislative action.³⁹

Early in February 1861, Wade was able to report to Rochester that the companies had agreed verbally as to how they would unite. He wrote that, "It now looks a little more like getting things fixed up as we want than it did. But there is plenty of chance to slip up yet. . . . I can never feel confidence till it is closed."⁴⁰ He was still having trouble with the Placerville line. More than a month passed before he could report the successful termination of his mission. As he expressed it to Elwood, ". . . things here have been hanging on a pinicle [*sic*]." The approach of the Civil War was both hindering and helping the settlement of his negotiations; in one of his letters he said that the political situation was greatly embarrassing his work in California; on the other hand, he detected an increasing desire to have speedy communication across the expanse of the Republic in case war actually came.⁴¹ This desire did, in fact, hasten the settlement of Wade's mission.

The final arrangement with the four California interests, as worked out by Wade and Creighton (who had come west from Salt Lake City) was different from the original plan of a four-way union that Wade had desired when he first came west. Nevertheless, he was satisfied.⁴² Carpentier had carried his point, for the final settlement was not an agreement among the four interests as equals. Rather, Carpentier's California State Telegraph Co. absorbed the other three, and plans were then made for the organization of a new company to carry forward the work of constructing the line to Salt Lake City. Carpentier's success may have resulted because of the court's decision favoring his line in the case referred to above. It is difficult to tell what the exact wording was, as the decision has not been recorded. Several years later, however, in another case involving the California State Telegraph Co., the charter giving it the exclusive right to do telegraphic business in California seems to have been still valid.⁴³ This may be taken as an indication that in 1861 the court upheld the company's request for an injunction against the Northern California Telegraph Co., or at least did not find this feature of the charter illegal. Wade could have circumvented the California State Telegraph Co.'s sole right to use the Morse patent by substituting the Van Choate patent; but if the court upheld the State's exclusive right to do telegraphic business in California, Wade would have been unable to proceed legally, even with

Van Choate's patent in his possession. In the final analysis, Western Union lost nothing by allowing the California State Telegraph Co. to absorb the other three lines; Wade had hoped to bring all four into one organization, and this was achieved, even though the final solution was not the one he had at first worked for. "I feel," he said, "a reasonable degree of confidence that with good watching and the checks we will have upon them, they will carry out the contract with more fairness than has been shown in the making of it."⁴⁴

Thus were brought to an end three months of what Wade termed the "hardest negotiations I have ever been engaged in." He added, "I know we are apt to think the last one the hardest but this has beat them all." Two days after completing his work, Wade and Creighton boarded a ship for the return trip to New York. The contract, in the meantime, was on its way to the home office by pony express, along with Wade's final report of the transaction.⁴⁵ He arrived in New York with Creighton on April 12, 1861, the day Fort Sumter was under bombardment. He found a number of the directors of Western Union waiting at the pier to receive him. All of them had studied the contract he had made with the California lines, for it arrived nearly two weeks before Wade, and almost unanimously they had opposed the agreement as "extremely dangerous if not impossible, and were loud in their remarks, such as, it can't be done, there is not wire enough in the country, nor is there time to make or import it, the money can't be raised, etc. . . ."⁴⁶ Wade demonstrated that he was a good salesman: he was able to convince them, and the arrangement was accepted.

As for the erection of the line in both directions from Salt Lake City, it was decided that this should be placed in the hands of new organizations, in which both Western Union and the California State Telegraph Co. were represented. The California interests formed the Overland Telegraph Co. with a capital of \$1,250,000, to build the section from Carson City to Salt Lake City.⁴⁷ At Wade's suggestion, the Western Union interests organized the Pacific Telegraph Co., capitalized at \$1,000,000, to build from Omaha to Salt Lake City. Jephtha H. Wade was chosen president in recognition of his work in California. Hiram Sibley made a strong bid for the position, because of the work he had done in Washington, lobbying for the passage of the telegraph act, but he had to be content with the vice-presidency. The appointment of Isaac Elwood as secretary gave Western Union all the major positions.⁴⁸

In raising money to finance the new company, Wade convinced the directors of Western Union that the parent company should take one share of stock more than half, so that control would not pass into the hands of a rival. What disposal should be made of the remaining forty-nine per cent? Wade suggested that the directors should take it; when all refused, he resorted to psychology and said he himself would assume the remaining shares. "This

soon raised a breeze, my showing that amount of confidence in it after the time and study I had given it, made them all want it," wrote Wade. As a result, he took one-third of the whole amount of stock, out of which he gave some shares to Creighton. The remaining one-sixth was taken by the other directors.⁴⁹ Thus the eastern section of the line was built entirely of funds raised from Western Union or members of its board of directors. The Overland Telegraph Co. was financed in similar fashion.

While the two new companies were being organized, the promoters were busy working out construction plans. The route of the line was chosen on the basis of information submitted by Creighton. As an additional incentive to speed construction, it was agreed that the company completing its line to Salt Lake City first was to retain the full tariff for messages between Omaha and San Francisco, until the entire line was completed. If their party arrived at Salt Lake City with their line completed four months before the other, they were to receive fifty dollars a day till the line was finished.⁵⁰

The specifications for building the line called for poles of durable material and not less than twenty-five per mile; galvanized iron wire of the best quality, and the best possible insulators were to be used. Repeaters were to be provided so that communication could be carried on by either party as far as the junction of their respective lines at Salt Lake City without rewriting. The line was to be completed by July 31, 1861, unless the government granted an extension of time.

As for the government's \$40,000 subsidy, it was to be divided on the basis of sixty per cent for the lines east of Salt Lake City, and the remainder for those west of that point, until the gross annual receipts of the California company on transcontinental business should exceed \$70,000 per annum, when their proportion was to be reduced to thirty per cent.⁵¹

Business details arranged, gangs of workmen assembled at various points to begin spanning the continent with one thin iron wire, whose task was to help hold the far west to the Republic's eastern seaboard.

Wade continued to serve the Western Union and became president of the company in 1866.

NOTES

1. "An act to facilitate communication between the Atlantic and Pacific states by electric telegraph," June 16, 1860, U. S. Statutes at Large, 36th Cong., 1st sess., chap. 137.

2. For list of members in the North American Telegraph Association, formed on Oct. 20, 1858, see Robert L. Thompson, *Wiring a Continent* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 323-24. At their first meeting, Hiram Sibley of Western Union took the lead in discussing a transcontinental telegraph. It was felt at that time that the project was too precarious, but a committee was selected to apply to Congress for financial aid.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

4. Third Annual Meeting, North American Telegraph Association, Aug. 29, 1860, in the Association's *Proceedings*, 1858-59 and 1860.

5. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 357.
6. Theodore Adams, Benjamin F. Ficklin, and John H. Harmon, three of the men who bid for the contract and then withdrew, were later made members of the board of the newly organized Pacific Telegraph Co.
7. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), XIX, 306.
8. Jeptha H. Wade, "Autobiography," MS in possession of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
9. *Ibid.*; see also Alice L. Bates, "The History of the Telegraph in California," Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, IX (1914), 181; and James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America* (New York, 1879), pp. 498 and 502; also, Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-49.
10. Jeptha Wade to Hiram Sibley and Isaac Elwood, Dec. 27, 1860, "Wade Papers," MSS in collection of Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. (Unless otherwise stated, the Wade letters, cited here, are in this collection.)
11. Same to same, Dec. 27, 1860; Jan. 4, 1861.
12. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 18, 1861.
13. Wade to Edward Creighton, Dec. 29, 1860.
14. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Jan. 30, 1861.
15. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 18, 1861.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Wade to Elwood and Sibley, Jan. 4, 1861.
18. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 18, 1861.
19. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Feb. 4, 1861.
20. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 18, 1861.
21. James Gamble (of the California State Telegraph Co., who, in 1853, succeeded in constructing a line between Marysville and San Francisco), "Wiring a Continent," *California Magazine*, III (1881), 556-63.
22. Placerville *Mountain Democrat*, Dec. 7, 1860.
23. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Jan. 30, 1861.
24. Wade to Elwood, Feb. 11, 1861.
25. Wade to Charles M. Stebbins, Feb. 6, 1861.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Jan. 30, 1861.
28. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 11, 1861.
29. Sylvanus Frederick Van Choate of Eureka, Calif., had been granted two patents for improvements in the magnetic telegraph instrument. The first patent, No. 27,506, was issued March 13, 1860; and the second, No. 27,665, was issued March 27, 1860. Van Choate later moved to Boston where he continued experimental work with the telegraph and was awarded another patent in 1869.
30. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 11, 1861.
31. Wade to Creighton, Jan. 19, 1861.
32. Same to same, Jan. 23, 1861.
33. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 24, 1861.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 30, 1861.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.* Wade received a second letter from Sibley in which he said: "I can only repeat what I said in my last letter, that you have the responsibility upon you of deciding what it is best for us to do & have to do it." (See Wade to Stebbins, Feb. 6, 1861.)

39. Wade to Elwood, Jan. 30, 1861. On April 27, 1860, the legislature had appropriated \$100,000 to be given to aid the construction of a transcontinental line. Wade reported that some of the California companies were threatening to put pressure on the legislature to repeal this appropriation unless Wade listened to their terms and agreed to them.

40. Wade to Elwood, Feb. 11, 1861.

41. Wade to Stebbins, Feb. 6, 1861.

42. Wade to Elwood, March 19, 1861.

43. California State Telegraph Co. *versus* Alta Telegraph Co. *et al.*, 22 Cal., 398.

44. Wade to Elwood, March 19, 1861.

45. Wade, "Autobiography," as in note 8 above.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 184; Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-61.

48. Wade, "Autobiography."

49. *Ibid.*

50. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 362; Wade, "Autobiography."

51. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

Albert Little Bancroft

His Card String of Events and Other Documents

By HENRY R. WAGNER

(Concluded)

The *Card String of Events*, written by Albert L. Bancroft over a number of years but copied in its final form in 1908, is the subject of this article. It consists of 495 heavy unnumbered white cards, measuring 10 x 18 cms., bound in brown, heavy paper covers decorated with Albert's symbol, a large V crossed by two horizontal lines. (He had designed a symbol for each member of his family.) It is all tied together with green twine on the spine, so that cards may easily be inserted or removed at will. The cover is followed by a pale green, heavy cardboard, title in pen-and-ink rectangular frame which reads: "Albert [the symbol] Card String of Chronological Events." For convenience I have numbered the cards as follows ("v.," verso; "bl.," blank):

3-4, We appear to be English; 5-6, The Contents of the Bancroft Book . . . ; 7, Full Title: A Card String of Chronological Events in the life of Albert Little Bancroft 1841 His Ancestors and Descendants also including items relating to his Relatives, Connections and some others. Revamped June 1908 but additions and revisions can be continued indefinitely, v.bl; 9, Form to use for Card Records; 10, Abbreviations; 11-12, Table of Contents and partial or skeleton Index to Albert's Card String; 13-22, Index; 23-26, Table of Ancestral Descent commencing with Bancroft of Barrow who lived and died prior to 1557 [the first Bancroft to come to America was John Bancroft, who came to New England in 1632 and settled in Lynn, Massachusetts]; 26-41, Diagrams accompanying and forming part of Table of Ancestral Descent; 42-43, Folding Diagrams; 44, bl; 45-46, Note about Family Tree and preceding Diagrams; 47-118 [numbered by Albert 1-36] Compact Albert Chronology; 119, Half Title Chronological Events, v.bl; 121, Explanatory; 122, bl; 123-495 Chronological Events.

Five generations of Bancrofts, with numerous descendants, lived in New England before Albert's father appeared upon the scene. He was named Azariah Ashley and was born on January 25, 1799, at Granville, Massachusetts. His father's family moved from Granville to Lake Lewis, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, in 1809, and from there to Granville, Ohio, in 1814. He was married to Lucy Damaris Howe on February 21, 1822. The couple had three sons and three daughters besides a boy who died in infancy. The children were:

Curtis Azariah, born on October 12, 1823. He was married to Louisa Jane Lamb on October 6, 1846. They had seven sons: William Blanchard, Curtis Ashley, Charles Edwin, Edgar Palmer, George Hess, Harlow Palmer, and Harold Edward. Edgar Palmer and Harold Edward died in infancy, and Curtis died at Berkeley on December 11, 1893.

Cecilia Marianne, born on May 21, 1826. She married George Hunter Derby on July 29, 1845. She had four girls, the oldest dying in infancy. Her children were: Ella Cecilia,

Emma Cecilia, Florence Cordelia, and Ida Matilda. Mr. Derby died in 1852 and she married George Lee Kenny on May 24, 1868.

Emily Matilda, born on May 20, 1829. She was married to Harlow Palmer on May 21, 1851, and had one daughter, Anna. Mr. Palmer died in 1852 and she married James Pierce in 1884. She died on July 25, 1907.

Hubert Howe, born on May 5, 1832. He was married first to Emily Ketchum of Buffalo on October 27, 1859. She died in 1869. They had one child, Kate Ketchum. He married Matilda Coley Griffing in 1876 and they had four children: Paul, Griffing, Philip and Lucy. He died on March 3, 1918.

Mary Melissa, born on March 5, 1838. She married Theodore Brooks Trevett on January 12, 1865. They had three children, the boy dying in infancy. The two girls were Katherine Lucy and Emily Bancroft Trevett.

Albert Little Bancroft, born on May 15, 1841. He married Frances Ann Watts on January 11, 1866, and they had five children.

Albert's own Introduction to this work reads:

The *Scope* of this Card String of Chronological Events in the life of Albert should include, where the records are available:

All of the known ancestors of Albert

All of his uncles and aunts

All of his brothers and sisters

Every one of his descendants; and these should be added to as time passes along.

Incidentally such of his cousins and more distant relatives and family connections, and even others that he may wish for any reason to include.

It would be desirable to include the same scope of facts relating to Mrs. Albert—if any of her children are sufficiently interested to seek out the facts and record them.

Duplicates. Some items are given in duplicate in order to show the relation of events to others quite closely connected and to show them again in their strictly chronological order and in their relation to the outside world as the stream of time flows along.

Focal point. In disconnected records of this kind it seems desirable to have a focal point and let everything be easily traceable to that point and from there outward to all others. As being the most available, natural and easiest for me to work from I have taken myself for that point. This accounts for my mark, Albert, appearing so frequently.

The *Bancroft Book* consists of a collection of formal records and papers relating to Azariah Bancroft, 1768, and his descendants, prepared because of a suggestion and request made by the editor of the *Old North-West Genealogical Quarterly*, published at Columbus, Ohio, at the time of the Granville, Ohio, Centennial, in 1905. It is in uniform sheets of 7 x 10 inches. It fell to my lot to prepare these records, and this work led up to this *Card String* but there is much there that is not represented here as I have kept rather close to my own personal line.

Form to use for Card Records The names of all children to go on the card of their parents.

In addition, on a separate card, a compact family record should be made of every married Bancroft and some of the older unmarried ones.

Each Record should contain in the order named:

Ancestors for a few generations, working backwards,

Birth—date, place, etc.

Schooling or education—date, place etc.

Marriage—to whom; date, place, etc.

Occupation—profession, business, enterprises, recreations, preferences, public service, life, etc. giving dates, places, etc.

Other events, such as locations, removals, travels, etc.etc. at different dates in their chronological order.

Death—date, place, place of burial, etc.

Give all the children together at the end.

This *Card String of Events* is extremely interesting, not only for what it contains but for what is lacking, and I am inclined to believe that some of the cards have been abstracted, as there are some very significant omissions. The only mention of Kate is her birth and no mention at all is made of the Bancroft Whitney Co., the Honey Lake Valley Land & Water Co., or even his own firm of A. L. Bancroft & Co. In fact, there is very little mention of events between 1886 and 1900; therefore I shall briefly mention some of them that affected Albert.

The firm of A. L. Bancroft & Co. did not expire with the fire on April 30, 1886, but it continued to exist for some little time. There was a large amount of goods stored which had been purchased on account of the freight-rate war then existing between the transcontinental railroads. A store was leased on Market Street near the site of the Bancroft Building and the goods in storage were brought there. Albert went east in order to purchase more stock, leaving T. A. C. Dorland and F. A. Colley in charge of the business. Before leaving, Albert had prepared a statement of the assets and liabilities of the company, as its books had been saved from the fire. In the meantime, Hubert Bancroft had a nervous breakdown, and he tells us that the only thing he could do was to look at the statement of assets and liabilities, which showed an excess of assets of \$100,000 over the liabilities. Hubert owned the building in which A. L. Bancroft & Co.'s business was carried on, and it was insured separately, probably in sufficient amount to cover the mortgage. He estimated the loss of A. L. Bancroft & Co. by the fire at \$400,000, while Albert, who made only one or two incidental references to the fire, estimated the loss at \$250,000 over and above the insurance. The amount of insurance collected on the stock and equipment was \$123,075, from which it would appear that Albert's estimate of the total loss was \$375,000.

Albert gave practically no account of what happened after the fire. Several books, almost completed, were destroyed, notably volume I of the *History of Oregon*, and *Vida de Porfirio Díaz*, among others. Two copies of the *History of Oregon*, volume I, were found in the Valencia Street building and from these the book was set up and printed again in 1886 by the History Company. One volume of *The American Decisions* was also destroyed.

In August, A. L. Bancroft & Co. issued a circular, announcing the publication of volume V of *The History of California*. I have not been able to find any copy of this volume bearing that imprint, as it was taken over by the

History Co. immediately and a new title-page, bearing the History Co. imprint, put in it. A new issue of the *North Mexican States and Texas* was also published by the History Co. in this year. As neither A. L. Bancroft & Co. nor the History Co. had any printing equipment at this time, the work must all have been done by commercial printers, as Hubert Bancroft states in his *Literary Industries*. I can find no record of A. L. Bancroft & Co. after the issuance of that August circular. It seems probable that Hubert Bancroft took over A. L. Bancroft & Co. at that time, although an article published in the San Diego *Union* on September 26, 1886, states that Albert was then in New York buying stock for the company. The only further notice of A. L. Bancroft & Co. occurs in the *Quarterly News Letter* in July 1887, issued by the Bancroft Co. which had just then been incorporated. In a foreword, Hubert stated that he had taken over A. L. Bancroft & Co. into the Bancroft Co., with all its assets and liabilities.

At what stage of these proceedings the final break between the two brothers occurred, is unknown to me. The incorporation of the Bancroft Whitney Co. on May 6, 1886, with Albert L. Bancroft as president and with his brother as a possible stockholder, might indicate that the break occurred considerably later. There were several possible causes for the break which resulted in the ejection of Albert from the business. Mrs. Sara Bancroft Fry was a young girl at that time and of course does not remember how it occurred, but she tells me that Hubert Bancroft may have taken away from his brother his interest in the firm because the agreement between them had not been entered into before a notary. That could hardly have been the real reason, because it did not require the signatures before a notary to make it binding on both parties. A written agreement between them was enforceable by law, and so, for that matter, was a verbal agreement, if it could be proven by other evidence. Albert, in his *Card String of Events*, reiterated what he had stated in his diary of 1861, regarding the agreement between him and his brother by which he had a one-quarter interest in the business. This statement, coupled with his omission to state that he had received a half interest later, seems to imply that the only agreement between them that was binding was the original one of 1861, giving Albert a quarter interest. That interest was not an interest in the profits but in the business. He became an owner by assuming the debt of his brother of \$7,300 to Mrs. Derby. It is certain that later Albert did have one-half of the profits, as we have seen from the ledger sheet of May 31, 1882, but the additional one-quarter may have been a revocable gift from his brother. There is a difference between an interest owned in a business and an interest in profits. In this case, Albert certainly *owned* a one-quarter interest in the business; he had, besides, one-quarter interest in the profits, a very different thing. Such an interest would be revocable.

Immediately after the July announcement by Hubert Bancroft of the ex-

tinction of the firm of A. L. Bancroft & Co., Albert started another one of the same name which existed for seven or eight years. It did no publishing business nor apparently was it in the bookselling business but dealt in pianos and musical instruments. It was incorporated in 1896 when Mrs. Albert Bancroft became president of the company. There is no record of the A. L. Bancroft & Co. after that year.

Albert's principal business during this period was as president of the Bancroft Whitney Co., which, immediately after its incorporation, became active. Three volumes of *The American Decisions* were published in that year, as well as several other law books. This company was incorporated with a capital of \$200,000 and with Albert L. Bancroft, Frederick P. Stone, Joseph Hasbrouck, Sumner Whitney and F. G. Sanborn. Stone had been manager of the law-book publishing business for A. L. Bancroft & Co. for some time and finally succeeded Albert Bancroft as president of the Bancroft Whitney Co., after having been vice president for several years. At the time of the fire, the series of *American Decisions* had been published up to volume 73 and the series of *California Reports*, in the publication of which Sumner Whitney and the Bancrofts were associated, had reached volume 63. Both these series had large lists of subscribers, and it was very likely that, for this reason, the Bancroft Whitney Co. was incorporated so shortly after the fire. Under such circumstances, it seems most likely that Hubert Bancroft was also a stockholder in the company and, indeed, there are some later indications that he was. In the article in the *San Diego Union*, above referred to, after remarking that Hubert Bancroft had sold some of his outside lots and erected a business building, which he had given to his wife "for fun," the article proceeds to state that Hubert had turned over to his daughter, Kate, his one-half interest in the Bancroft Whitney Co. In the last chapter of the *Literary Industries*, Hubert Bancroft speaks about this company and uses the following expression:

Our law department was united with the business of Sumner Whitney, and a large and successful law-book publishing house was thus established under the able management of good men from both houses, who were less inclined, however, to yield proper credit to those who had laid the foundation for them to build upon, than to vote themselves large salaries, and derive all the personal profit therefrom possible.

This sounds very much like the wail of a discontented stockholder. The present officials of the Bancroft Whitney Co. do not believe, however, that Hubert Bancroft was ever a stockholder in that company, and I have never been able to discover whether Kate was actually a stockholder. The probabilities are that the stock stood in her name but really belonged to her father, as at this time Hubert Bancroft was turning over to his wife and daughter practically all of his property.

The Honey Lake Valley Land and Water Co., in the east part of Lassen County, was incorporated in June 1891, and contracted to build an earthen

dam. At some time in this period, Albert became a stockholder in the company. The dam broke in the winter of 1893 and the company went bankrupt in May of that year. According to a lawsuit, Albert owned, in 1895, 1,070 shares of the Honey Lake stock and according to the San Francisco *Directory* he was manager of the company in that same year. The project was a failure and Albert, who had sold his stock in the Bancroft Whitney Co. to invest in the Honey Lake Co., lost it all. The result was the necessity of selling the Franklin Street house or the Aloha Farm. The Franklin Street house had been built by Albert in 1875 and the family moved into it on January 1, 1876. By informal vote of the family, it was decided to sell the Franklin Street house. This was apparently done in 1896, and the family moved to Aloha Farm. At some time not stated, Albert gave the farm, which he had bought in 1885, to his wife and she ran it for a number of years. There were 50,000 fruit trees on it, pear, apricot, almond and prunes.

In the document we are now considering, Albert mentions none of these enterprises. His references to the fire, only two in number, are so casual that we might easily imagine that he was simply an onlooker.

The Country Road Blocking System, on which Albert spent so much time and possibly money, was announced by him in 1890, although he had conceived it in Frankfurt on the Main, Germany, in 1869-70. Albert gives us a long account of his system, the utility of which I confess I do not see. It was put into effect in a small way in Contra Costa County and later in the Middle West. In 1907, in April or about that time, he formed a company in Detroit, entitled the Michigan Road-Blocking Association. This company issued a pamphlet entitled: *Improved Road-Blocking for the Country*, which bears a notice of "Copyright 1907 by Albert L. Bancroft, of Los Angeles, California. All rights reserved. Patent protected." He says that in 1890 he was spending one or two days a week at Aloha Farm. In the summer of this year, he took a business trip from San Francisco down the California coast as far as San Diego, and was in Los Angeles on the Fourth of July; in this same summer, he erected a two story concrete house at Aloha Farm.

After the failure of the Honey Lake project and the liquidation of his own business of A. L. Bancroft & Co., Albert deserted San Francisco, apparently for good. In the *Card String of Events*, he writes, "1896, Fall, to Los Angeles went Albert," and he probably became a citizen of that place at this time. What he did between 1896 and 1900 is not revealed to us, but in this year he had a serious accident and dislocated his shoulder. He apparently continued residing in Los Angeles until June 1905, when he left on a trip to the east. He went to Portland, Oregon, where he was joined by his sister, Emily. They went on to Seattle, Washington, where they stayed three days, then over the Canadian Pacific Railroad to Granville, Ohio, where they attended the centennial celebration of the settlement of the village by the colony

from Granville, Massachusetts. During this trip east, where Albert remained until 1908, he seems to have been interested in hunting up his relatives or people named Bancroft. In the spring of 1906, he met Melissa in New York and spent a few days there with her, and then visited Akron, Ohio, where he spent a few weeks. From there he traveled to Cleveland, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, and finally spent some time in Toledo, Ohio, in 1907 and 1908. While in Toledo, he attended the annual Bancroft reunion, although none of his immediate relatives was present. His chief business, however, seems to have been to exploit his Country Road Blocking System.

In all the numerous leaves of the *Card String of Events* after 1896, Albert does not mention going to Aloha Farm. He seems to have been obsessed with the subject of his Country Road Blocking Scheme and it is not unlikely that he installed, or at least attempted to install, the system in Los Angeles County. He was associated while there with his nephew, George Hess Bancroft, who was engaged in the real estate business. It is probable that George had been in Los Angeles since 1893 and was still there in 1908. In the pamphlet published in Detroit in 1907 on the Road Blocking System, Albert quoted from a large number of newspapers which had commented favorably on his scheme, including many issued in and about Los Angeles. None of them is dated, but it is obvious that they were all published before 1907.

Albert did not seem to enjoy living on the farm. Mrs. Fry says he was bored and nervous there, and during all this period apparently his wife had managed it. She developed it and Mrs. Fry also tells me that the pear orchard was a "gold mine." Mrs. Bancroft finally gave up the management to her eldest son, Bert, who installed an irrigation system, the first in this part of the country. Mrs. Bancroft passed away in 1922 and the farm, together with the Granville Farm, was sold in 1926 to Philip Bancroft, the present owner, who also owns the original farm in Ignacio Valley which his father, Hubert Bancroft, had purchased at the same time that Albert bought his.

Albert was a man of convivial spirit. He joined the Bohemian Club on May 7, 1873, and was then a member of the Olympic Club and had been for some time, serving as president on one occasion. He was a life member of the Institute of Art, and many other organizations. In his *Account Books* there is almost always a record of the first day on a steamer when he bought a bottle of champagne, probably a libation to Neptune. In his *Card String of Events* he stated that in 1867 he weighed 235 pounds, and from photographs of him taken at various times there is a strong resemblance to his older brother Hubert. My impression is that he suffered during his association with his brother from an inferiority complex, not infrequently seen in younger brothers.

Albert left several diaries of hunting and fishing trips, but I include only a résumé of experiences written by him in 1908 in this *Card String of Events*.

"My business for years kept me closely confined indoors and my annual vacations of a week or ten days were most enjoyable. I was always drawn to the hills and the woods. Places of general resort had no attraction for me and I never went to one except with other members of the family. A gun and rod always formed the principal attractions and a country where there was no use for them I cared for but little as a place for an outing. When I commenced to carry a gun I knew nothing of the true feelings of the sportsman and I have done a few things that I have felt anything but proud of. When the San Francisco and North Pacific Railroad was opened, quite a party of us camped on a beautiful little island in Sulphur Creek about eight miles east of Cloverdale, toward the geysers. One day some of us took rods and guns and went two miles or so up Little Sulphur which came into Sulphur Creek about a quarter of a mile above our camp. The country was rough, the scenery was beautiful, the stream attractive and the trout fishing good enough to interest. We were fishing upstream. I heard a noise just above us and on looking up saw some deer coming down to the water. I dropped my rod and taking my gun slipped out where I had a clear view. Just then a doe came into view across the creek and stopped. As I raised my gun a young one bounded out and stopped between me and her at her side. I pulled and one charge of buckshot got them both. I soon learned, however, that there were seasons and fit times to shoot and to give the game a show and all desire to shoot out of season left me before it was really formed.

"Once I took two horses from camp and put my two small boys on them and went over the hills and struck Little Sulphur about three miles up to fish down. We were having an enjoyable time and before I was aware of it the day had slipped away and we were walled in by steep rocks and hills miles from camp, and if we were to get back early enough to prevent the mother worrying about her boys some hustling would have to be done. We could not climb out of the sides of the canyon; to go back was too far; we could only go on down. We came to a place where the horses could not pass so we piled up loose stones on the lower side of a rocky seam and crowded them over. Just below was a large pool where I knew that the horses would have to swim, but the boys did not. I put each on a horse and swam them through while I worked around the edges. We reached camp before any great amount of worrying had been done.—Once I fished over this same ground, alone, and caught 125 trout on my way down but the day was so hot that when I reached camp I found that some of the fish had spoiled.—This camping place I afterward bought, about sixty-three acres of it and called it Alberta Camp and the Camp Lodge [built in the summer of 1880], made of rough boards, Sara Lodge, after the two girls.

"After the house was built the family stayed there for some weeks. I would leave San Francisco on the four o'clock boat on Saturday and reach

Cloverdale at eight. There I would find a saddle horse that had been taken in from camp for me, and ride the eight miles out to camp after dark and return to the city on Monday mornings.—The country around camp was attractive. There were not very much game but we could always get some, about half a dozen head in the course of a morning's tramp. There were gray squirrel, quail, hare, doves, trout, and we always had one or two deer while in camp. We could roam the hills for miles in all directions. The country was used only for sheep ranges and poor at that. It took seven acres on an average to keep one sheep the year around.—A very fine soda spring a mile down the creek was an attraction. An excursion down there late in the afternoon when the side of the ridge across the creek away from the dusty road was in shade was most charming. Once I took my gun along and left the party at the spring and went about three-quarters of a mile to the top of the ridge to hunt back towards camp. The tramp was enjoyable but I did not get a shot. Dark came on and shut off my landmarks and I missed the sheep trail down towards camp. I wandered on and on. After a considerable time I went down and waded this creek and struck a camp of ranchers who were out after deer. I found that I was on the Devil's Deer Creek about four miles from camp. One of the campers took me back on horseback for \$2.50. One winter trip three of us got three deer on this ridge one morning.

"The camp lodge stood for five years without molestation when some one broke into it to camp and then campers could not be kept out, so I rented the place for a chicken ranch and the renter burned the lodge down. The most attractive part of the island was also washed away by high water. The lodge was not built on the island because the stream was likely to shift and wash it away at any time.

"In the winter duck shooting was attractive and I went a good many times and would get from about five to thirty ducks on a trip. Once when I was a member of the Tule Shooting Club I got eighty-five ducks. Our ground was on the Suisun Bay about four hours from San Francisco by rail. Once I went on a Jack Rabbit drive in the San Joaquin Valley where the whole country turned out. We corralled and killed about 2,500 of the pests. Also I once went with the bunker fishermen out of Greenport, Long Island, where they caught 60,000 fish by measurement, which were taken to a bunker factory and ground up for oil and land fertilizer—I shot a little in Germany and killed a wild boar out of Tangier, in Africa, just across from Gibraltar."

Albert's sister, Melissa, seems to have been a great crony of his. She was born on March 5, 1838, and came to California with her brother, Hubert, in 1859. When Albert was at Fort Simcoe in 1862, Melissa was also there, and there she met Theodore Brooks Trevett, who was then clerk at the fort. She was married to him on January 12, 1865, in San Francisco. Their home was in Oregon. She sailed from New York for Weimar, Germany, on March 13,

1875, and remained in Europe for ten years, educating her two daughters. Albert was in New York to see her off. She was in Weimar at the time he and his family were there and during this time Bert Bancroft, Albert's oldest son, and Milly B. Trevett, Melissa's youngest daughter, published a little handwritten newspaper, *The Weimar American*. The issue of Thursday, September 1, 1881, tells of a five weeks' tour in Switzerland. The party consisted of Mrs. Trevett, her two daughters, Kate Bancroft, A. L. Bancroft and his two boys. The reference to Kate Bancroft indicates that she was also at that time residing in Weimar with Albert's family and, in fact, she went to Europe with them in 1880 on *The Neckar*, and I believe she returned with the family in 1883. Also in Weimar part of the time was Mrs. Nickerson with her daughter, Florence (now Mrs. Alex E. Graham). Mrs. Nickerson was the daughter of Mrs. Derby.

In Albert's *Card String of Events*, he writes of his sister:

Melissa, Liss or Lissie, as we called her at home, is three years older than I. She was a seminary girl when I was only a small rough school boy. She did a mighty good thing for me in correcting every mistake that I would make in grammar right on the spot. After a time, when she would hit me with one of her corrections I would flinch. Finally, I would flinch before the crime, omit it and thus escape the punishment. In this way I acquired the habit of avoiding some grammatical mistakes. I have studied some and learned some things since my school days, and if I had had the benefits of correspondence schools at that time, I think that I would have learned more.

When Albert returned to California after his trip east to attend the Granville, Ohio, celebration, is not known, but it seems to have been in 1908, when he "revamped" this *Card String of Events*. In 1909 he was still in Los Angeles, according to a notation in Section Four of *The Bancroft Book* in his own handwriting. In 1910, he returned to Aloha Farm, where he stayed for a short time, but in 1911 he was registered in Oakland as living at 565 24th Street. The same entry occurs in the *Directory* for 1913; in the 1914 edition he has changed his residence to 434 23d Street, where he died.

Albert's death occurred on October 14, 1914, and after his death many boxes of papers of various descriptions were found in his rooms. What became of these papers is not now known to me but apparently most of them were burned. He left five children:

Hubert Howe Bancroft Jr., born on June 28, 1867, who later took the name of Bert, and still lives at Brentwood, Contra Costa County;

Francis Watts, always called Frank, born on October 18, 1871, who graduated from the University of California and became a Professor of Biology there. He had three children and died in 1926.

Alberta, born on March 2, 1873, who in 1901 married James S. Reid, an attorney. Mrs. Reid, a widow, is now living in Oakland and has one daughter.

Sara Cone, born on July 3, 1879, who married Donald H. Fry at Aloha Farm on September 24, 1899, and has one son, and four grandchildren. Mrs. Fry now lives in Palo Alto.

Karl August, always known as John, who was born on March 7, 1881, at Weimar, Germany, and is now living in Arizona.

Albert concludes his Introduction to this *Card String of Events* with the following words: "Never-the-less, taking 'em all in all the Bancrofts seem to be a pretty good lot and I am more than satisfied to be one of them."

Recent Californiana

A Checklist of Publications Relating to California

BOREIN, EDWARD

Etchings of the West. [Santa Barbara, Press of the Schauer Printing Studio, Inc., 1950] unnumb. leaves. illus., part. col. \$15.00.

BROWNE, J. ROSS

Muleback to the Convention, Letters of J. Ross Browne. San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1950. 70 p. illus. \$6.50. Sold only to members.

BYNUM, LINDLEY, and IDWAL JONES

Biscailuz, Sheriff of the New West. With an introd. by Erle Stanley Gardner. New York, William Morrow and Co., 1950. 7-208 p. plates. \$3.00.

CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS

El Molino Viejo. [Los Angeles] Ward Ritchie Press, 1950. 57 p.

CURLETTI, ROSARIO

Pathways to Pavements, the History and Romance of Santa Barbara Spanish Street Names. [Santa Barbara] County National Bank & Trust Company of Santa Barbara [1950] 87 p. illus. Available on request.

CURRO, EVELYN

Evelyn Curro's First Annual American Calendar, San Francisco Cable Car Edition. With twelve historic cars in full color, dated from 1873 to 1951. San Francisco, The Curro Company, Inc., 1950. 12 col. plates. \$1.50.

DAWSON, MUIR

History and Bibliography of Southern California Newspapers, 1851-1876. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1950. 86 p. facsimis. \$2.50.

ECCLESTON, ROBERT

Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail, 1849, Diary of Robert Eccleston. Ed. by George P. Hammond and Edward H. Howes. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950. xvii, 256 p. illus., maps. \$7.50.

ELLISON, WILLIAM HENRY

A Self-Governing Dominion: California, 1849-1860. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950. 342 p. \$4.50.

GLEASON, JOE DUNCAN

The Islands of California; Their History, Romance and Physical Characteristics. Los Angeles, Sea Publications, Inc., 1950. 5, 104 p. illus., maps. \$3.50.

HARLOW, NEAL

The Maps of San Francisco Bay, From the Spanish Discovery in 1769 to the American Occupation. San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1950. 154 p. 20 maps. \$30.00. Sold only to members.

HEALD, WELDON FAIRBANKS

Scenic Guide to California; a Completely New Guide Covering the Entire State of California. Susanville, H. C. Johnson, 1950. 112 p. illus., maps. \$1.50.

HUNT, ROCKWELL D.

History of the College of the Pacific, 1851-1951. Written in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of its Founding. Stockton, The College of the Pacific, 1950. xv, 226 p. illus. \$4.00.

INGOLD, ERNEST

The House in Mallorca. San Francisco, Paul Elder & Company, 1950. 48 p. illus. \$6.50.

ISSLER, ANNE ROLLER

Our Mountain Hermitage, Silverado and Robert Louis Stevenson. Stanford, Stanford University Press, c1950. 138 p. illus., map. \$3.50.

MATHES, FRANÇOIS E.

The Incomparable Valley, A Geologic Interpretation of the Yosemite. Ed. by Fritiof Fryxell. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950. 160 p. 32 plates. \$3.75.

MATHES, FRANÇOIS E.

Sequoia National Park, A Geological Album. Ed. by Fritiof Fryxell. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950. 160 p. 124 plates. \$3.75.

POETS OF THE PACIFIC, INC.

Dawn, The Rise of the West in the Poetry of the West. San Francisco, Wallace Kibbee & Son, 1950. 240 p.

POTTER, BERNARD

Los Angeles, Yesterday and Today. Los Angeles, Wetzel Pub. Co., 1950. 201 p. \$3.00.

PUTNAM, GEORGE PALMER

Up In Our Country. New York, Duell, Sloane & Pearce, Inc., 1950. 224 p. \$3.00.

ROBINSON, W. W.

The Old Spanish and Mexican Ranchos of Orange County. Los Angeles, Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1950. 18 p. fold. map. Available on request.

STEWART, GEORGE R.

The Year of the Oath. Garden City, Doubleday and Co., 1950. 156 p. \$2.00.

WONG, JADE SNOW

Fifth Chinese Daughter. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. vii, 246 p. \$3.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

August 1, 1950, to October 31, 1950

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From BAY AREA COUNCIL—Its: *Directory [of] Schools and Colleges in the San Francisco Bay Area*. San Francisco, Bay Area Council [1950].

From MR. AND MRS. JAMES R. BREHM—Cleland, Robert Glass. *El Molino Viejo*. [Los Angeles] Ward Ritchie Press, 1950.

From THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA—Amsden, Charles Avery, *Prehistoric Southwesterners from Basketmaker to Pueblo*, Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1949; Hinkle, George and Bliss, *Sierra-Nevada Lakes*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, c1949; Johnston, James A., *Alcatraz Island Prison*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—*Modern Business Methods in Municipal Government . . . City of Oakland*, Emeryville, Moore Business Forms, Inc., [n.d.]; *Precinct Register*, Primary Election, Tuesday, June 6, 1950, Nevada County, California; San Francisco Unified School District, Office of the Superintendent, [*Report to the Board of Education, August 2, 1950*] Mimeographed; Simmons, Paris B., "Trinity Center" *Now and Then*, Trinity Center, Trinity Center Elementary School Board of Trustees, c1950.

From MRS. EVELYN CURRO—Her: *First Annual Americana Calendar, San Francisco Cable Car Edition, 1951*, San Francisco, Curro Company, 1950; *Who's Who in California . . . 1928-1929*. San Francisco, c1929.

From MUIR DAWSON—His: *History and Bibliography of Southern California Newspapers, 1851-1876*. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1950.

From THE FRIENDS OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY—Eccleston, Robert, *Overland to California on the Southwestern Trail, 1849, Diary of Robert Eccleston*. Ed. by George P. Hammond and Edward H. Howes. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950.

From MR. GRAHAME HARDY—Beebe, Lucius, and Charles Clegg. *Legends of the Comstock Lode*. Oakland, Grahame H. Hardy, 1950.

From MR. JAMES J. HUNTER—His: *Partners in Progress, 1864-1950; a Brief History of the Bank of California, N. A., and of the Region it has Served for 85 Years*. New York, Newcomen Society in North America, 1950.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, *Wolves Against the Moon*, New York, Macmillan, 1942; Parkman, Francis, *The Oregon Trail*, Garden City, Doubleday, 1946; Coolidge, Dane and Mary Roberts Coolidge, *The Last of the Seris*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1939; Fletcher, Inglis, *Lusty Wind for Carolina*, Garden City, Sun Dial Press, 1947; Forbes, A. S. C., *California Missions and Landmarks, El Camino Real*, 3d ed., Los Angeles, 1915; Garnett, Porter, *The Bohemian Jinks, a Treatise*, San Francisco, Bohemian Club, 1908; Holliday, Carl, *The Dawn of Literature*, New York, T. Y. Crowell, 1931; Keeler, Charles, *Elfin Songs of Sunland*, Berkeley, Published at the Sign of the Live-Oak, 1904; Lampson, Robin, *Death Loses a Pair of Wings*, New York, Charles Scribners, 1939; Lewis, Janet, *The Trial of Sören Qvist*, Garden City, Doubleday, 1947; *Men of California, 1900 to 1902*, [San Francisco] Pacific Art Company [c1901]; Muir, John, *The Mountains of California*, new and rev. ed., New York, Century Co., 1922; Steinbeck, John, *Tortilla Flat*, New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1935; Townsend, Edward W., "Chimmie Fadden," *Major Max and Other Stories*, New York, Lovell, Coryell, 1895; *West Winds, California Writers Club Book of Fiction*, Vol. III, [Berkeley] California Writers Club, [1931].

From THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES—The City of Los Angeles, *Year Book 1949 [The First 100 Years]*, Los Angeles, 1950.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT—*School Directory, Oakland, Cal., 1893-94*; Thwaites, Reuben G., *Report Submitted to the President and Regents of the University of California upon the Bancroft Library*. Berkeley, 1905.

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN—His: "Merced County's Oldest House," from *The Grizzly Bear*, v. 87, no. 522, October 1950; Official Souvenir Program, Merced County's Spring Fair and Livestock Show, 1949.

From MISS ROSE MARIE PISCHEL—Joy, Al C., *A. B. C. Dobrmann, Sixty-fifth Birthday Supper*, Family Club Farm, December 5, 1933, [n.p., 1933]; Program of Round Table Dinner for Dr. Kaspar Pischel, Bohemian Club, San Francisco, California, January 8, 1935.

From MR. ANDREW F. ROLLE—His: "California Filibustering and the Hawaiian Kingdom. Reprinted from *The Pacific Historical Review*, v. 19, no. 3, August 1950.

From MR. C. D. SAMUELS—*Guide to Street Railroads in San Francisco*, with map of the city. [San Francisco] Trade-Postal Co., 1892.

From W. & J. SLOANE—Its: *The Story of Sloane's*. New York, W. & J. Sloane, 1950.

From MR. ROBERT TAFT—His: "Pictorial Record of the Old West—William Allen Rogers and Mary Hallock Foote," Reprinted from the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18, no. 3, August 1950; and His: "Pioneers of the Perilous Commerce," Reprinted from an editorial in *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, June 1950.

From MR. RAY W. TAYLOR—His: *Democracy, a Science of Government*. [San Francisco, Mercury Press, 1950].

From MISS RUTH TEISER—*A Checklist of Colt Press Books*. San Francisco [Colt Press] 1942.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—His: *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World; its Aims and Achievements*, San Francisco, John Howell, 1926, Special edition

with portrait and photostatic copy of letter by Drake laid in; Carmany, John H., *Review of the Year 1866*, containing an elaborate resume of the mining operation of the entire Pacific Coast . . . San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft, 1867; *In the Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1946* . . . United States of America, Plaintiff, vs. State of California, Defendant . . . Los Angeles, Parker & Co., 1946; Rogers, J. Henry, *The California Hundred*, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft, 1865; Scott, W. A., *The Bible and Politics; or, An Humble Plea for Equal, Perfect, Absolute Religious Freedom and Against all Sectarianism in our Public Schools*, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft, 1859; and His: *The Giant Judge; or, The Story of Samson, the Hebrew Hercules*, San Francisco, Whitton, Towne, 1858; *All About California* . . . San Francisco, California Immigrant Union, 1871; Anderson, Winslow, *Mineral Springs and Health Resorts of California*, San Francisco, Bancroft Company, 1892; Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, *Chautauqua Assembly, A Summer School of Science*, Pacific Grove, Monterey, Cal. Session of 1888, July 5th to July 15th., San Francisco, Bancroft Company [1888]; *The Coming Crisis, by One of the Many*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1879; *In the Supreme Court of the State of California, John H. Hill vs. J. W. Haskin*, San Francisco, Steam Printing House of A. L. Bancroft, 1870; Hitchcock, H. R., *An English-Hawaiian Dictionary*, San Francisco, Bancroft Company, 1887; James, George W., *How We Climb to the Stars and The Lick Observatory*, San Francisco, Bancroft Company, 1887; Norman, Lucia, *A Popular History of California*, San Francisco, Bancroft Company, 1889; Pelton, John Cotter, *Life's Sunbeams and Shadows*, San Francisco, Bancroft Co., 1893; Shaw, William J., *An Appeal to California to Immediately Undertake a Peaceful Revolution in 1876*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft Company, 1875; Ver Mehr, J. L., *Checkered Life*, San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1877.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. ELBERT S. CONNER—*Gremlin Chatter*, v. 1, no. 1-6, Feb.-Aug. 1943 (Published by the Observers of Santa Barbara Post, U.S. Army Air Force Aircraft Warning Service).

From MR. W. J. GILMAN—*San Francisco News Letter*, Christmas, 1893.

From MR. F. HAL HIGGINS—His: "It Started California Tractor Farming" in *California Farmer*, v. 193, no. 6, September 9, 1950.

From ROBERT T. LEGGE, M.D.—*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, v. 41, no. 3 and no. 20, Aug. 22, Dec. 19, 1849, containing "Letters from California" by J. P. Leonard, M.D.

From MR. TOM McHUGH—*Riptide*, v. 21, no. 41, October 6, 1949.

From COL. FRED B. ROGERS—*Mendocino Herald*, Jan. 24, 1862.

From MR. JAMES E. SERVEN—His: "San Francisco Gunmakers" in *American Rifleman*, v. 98, no. 9, September 1950.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—*Hand-Book Almanac for the Pacific States, an Official Register and Year-Book of Facts, 1862-1865*. San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft, 1862-1865.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MRS. E. K. ALLEN—Typewritten biographical sketch of George Stoneman.

From MR. HAROLD HOLMES—Ellery, Epes. Journal of events, etc. Kept at Sea During Voyage around [*sic*] Cape Horn, Commenced Aug. 5th 1852 on board Barque Callego, Capt. George Ellery, Sailed from N.Y. for San Francisco 2d July 1852, Arrived 7th Jan. 1853; and Ellery's letter book Nov. 1853-July 1863.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. G. D. de BALAINE—Two photographs of the first brick house in California.

From MR. W. J. HOLLIDAY—Photograph of Stephen Terry.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Fifteen photographs of Yosemite Valley.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT—Oakland. Board of Port Commissioners. *Map of Oakland Harbor, Oakland, California*. Oakland, 1935.

From MISS HARRIET MUTH—Three photographs: Safe Deposit Block, San Francisco; Knights Templars Parade; and Mrs. Effie Mann.

From MISS ROSE MARIE PISCHEL—Photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick William Dohrmann.

From MR. H. C. RICHARDSON—Photostatic copy of the Eddy map of San Francisco, filed in the U. S. District Court of Oregon at Oregon City in 1850.

From MRS. AMY R. RUSSELL—Pencil portraits of Mr. and Mrs. William P. Herrick, drawn by Margaret Herrick.

From MRS. EDNA D. SAMPSON—Photographs of Slave Girl Tree and Hangman's Tree, Rough and Ready, California.

From MRS. MARGARET E. SCHLICHTMANN—Her: *Map Showing the Approximate Route of the Early Big Oak Flat Road and Adjacent Trails, Roads, Ranches and Stopping Places*. San Leandro, Mrs. M. E. Schlichtmann, c1950. Photograph: Mr. Charles Schmidt, Second Garrote, Tuolumne County, California.

From MR. JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN—Line drawings of Colton Hall, California's First Capitol, Donner Party, Man and Grizzly.

MISCELLANEOUS

From ANONYMOUS DONOR—Program of Class Day Exercises, University of California, Berkeley, June 5th, 1877; Annual Literary Exercises of the Associated Alumni of the Pacific Coast, University of California, June 6, 1877.

From MRS. R. C. ATCHISON—Souvenir program, tickets, and premium list to the Eighth Annual El Dorado County Fair and Horse Show, September 9-10-11, 1949.

From MRS. WILLARD E. BAUGHMAN—Certificate of the School Children's Landmark League of California, May 27, 1903.

From MR. MARMADUKE T. BROCKLISS—Photostat of a broadside advertising the Mountain House, Mrs. E. Brockliss, Proprietress. [Placerville] Mountain Democrat Print., 1880.

From MR. ELLIOTT EVANS—Advertising brochure of Crane & Curtis, Engravers on Wood.

From MR. GUY GILCHRIST—Program and newspaper accounts of the dedication of the following Historical Landmarks: Emigrant Gap, Gold Run, and Dutch Flat.

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN—Blank key given as a souvenir of the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939.

From THE PALACE HOTEL—Brochure containing historical facts about the Palace Hotel.

From MR. BRENT NEVILLE RICKARD—Thirty-eight scrapbooks and ten photograph albums from the collection of Mrs. Amelia Ransome Neville, covering the period from the time of her arrival in San Francisco in 1856 until her death in 1926.

From MR. ABE RUBEL—His: "Pacific Express Company" with map of the route. (Photostatic copy of the original article.)

From MR. JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN—Souvenir Program of California Masonic Centennial, 1850-1950. Grand Lodge of California Free and Accepted Masons, October 9-13, 1950, San Francisco, California.

Meetings

Date: June 17, 1950

Speaker: ROBERT H. MENZIES

The peninsula of Marin — site, at "New Albion," of the landing of Sir Francisco Drake in the late sixteenth century, and, at San Rafael, of the first north-bay Franciscan mission in the early nineteenth; source, at Sausalito, of sweet water for sailors; county of truck gardens and dairy products for the nearby metropolis; county also of saw-mills, dating from 1843; of the first-in-California paper-mill, of pioneer railroading, shipbuilding, and fisheries; of summer resorts and of year-round incarceration; and, one might add, of the coyote (*o'le*; whence [?] Olema), the shark (*tiburón*; whence Point Tiburon), and of willows (*sauce*, *sausal*; whence Sausalito); particularly, site of "Gibson Island" in Tomales Bay, where, in October 1793, George Vancouver's botanist, Archibald Menzies, searched for plant specimens with only one good day in which to do his collecting because of stormy weather. But the June day on which a later Menzies, also a botanist, spoke before the Society was fair in the extreme, and the gardens of the Society's host, Col. Waddell F. Smith, a delight to see.

The speaker of the day, Robert H. Menzies, chairman of the board of Parrott & Co., with which he has been associated for some sixty years, is the son of Thomas Menzies, a Scotsman, who reached the west during the American Civil War and spent several years in Virginia City, Nevada, where, for a time, he was agent for the Bank of California.

The only named *History of Marin County*, Mr. Menzies said, is in one volume and was published in San Francisco by Alley, Bowen & Co. in 1880. It consists of a rather prosy collection of biographies of early settlers and is quite as notable for its omissions as for the names it contains; but, as one of the ancients remarked, he would rather have it asked why no statue had been erected to his memory than why one *had*. A startling contrast is offered in the list of murders, for which the county appears to have been notorious; it was, as well, a favorite duelling ground. In the speaker's opinion, the best history of Marin would be one that had been compiled from the sheets of the *Marin County Journal*, of which a complete set, beginning with the first issue in 1861 and continuing to the present, is in San Rafael.

Marin's history has been largely a history of transportation problems, and no county in the state, said the speaker, has suffered more vicissitudes in this respect, nor has finally arrived at so sorry a condition as that which now prevails. Commencing with a stagecoach line from San Rafael to San Quentin (and then by ferry to San Francisco), the next step was the incorporation of the SAN RAFAEL & SAN QUENTIN R. R., which took the place of the stage. This was succeeded by the narrow-gauge NORTH PACIFIC COAST RY., with a ferry from San Francisco to Sausalito, a long trestle across Richardson Bay, and thence over the hills at the same point as the present highway. Succeeding this came the tunnel at Corté Madera. Meanwhile, Peter Donahue had established the SAN FRANCISCO AND NORTH PACIFIC R.R., called the "broad gauge," with a ferry terminal at Tiburon. The NORTH PACIFIC COAST was

later electrified and became known as the NORTH SHORE, which continued up to the time of the opening of the bridge.

Most of his hearers agreed with Mr. Menzies that the old ferry-days are delightful to look back upon. The half-hour trip on the ferry afforded pleasant relaxation, either in the form of sitting comfortably on the open deck or partaking of refreshment in the restaurant. Nor was the time, consumed in the crossing, much longer than that taken today by any except the through-buses, of which none too many exist. For one reason or another, a number of persons in the county were opposed to the bridge. One well-known resident, of convivial habits, was especially vehement in his opposition; when asked why, he stated, "Well, you can miss a ferry but you can't miss a bridge."

In those days there was not the present crowding of passengers. On the morning and evening trips, the passengers on the Marin trains were almost wholly confined to commuters, each of whom had his own particular seat, respected by the others. "I recall," said Mr. Menzies, "seeing, one morning, a retired dairyman from upper Marin enter the end of the car, take a good look up and down the aisle, and then remark, 'You know, you fellows remind me of my cows—every one of you knows his own stall.'"

In cheerful contrast to the transportation problem has been the development of the water resources and the consequent setting aside of a large area as state park and game refuge. The county is blessed with an abundant supply of water from the north side of Tamalpais. It also has a favorable topography for the creation of its present three lakes and for the contemplated fourth lake in the lower Lagunitas Canyon, which will double the present capacities and, it is said, will be ample for fifty or more years.

With the opening of the bridge, expedited by the close of the last war, the inrush of an entirely new population commenced and is still going on at a rapid rate—not with much respect, Mr. Menzies was sad to say, for preserving the beauties of the county but doing far more to mar rather than justify the marvels of Marin. One can still step off a bus at Ross, however, and in a few minutes enter a virgin country of forest, lakes and streams which, it is hoped, may long survive unspoiled.

Date: September 14, 1950

Speaker: DAVID PRESCOTT BARROWS

How lavish is the Creator with the land of this planet? In western Europe, with, say, 200-400 persons to the square mile, there is evidence of some close figuring; in Alta California during the pre-1850's, there was no need for figuring at all, and so the Mexican authorities, self-appointed satraps for the Creator, thought of land-gifts in terms of leagues. It was lavishness with a wide spread. But was it, at that time, *too* lavish? The land contained in a California grant wasn't all good; for the somewhat unimaginative tallow-

and-hide economy then existing, lots of it was very bad, consequently the amount necessary just to support life in one cow was appreciable. By contrast—to refer again to western Europe—a sleek Holstein cow, on a Danish farm, can sit on an infinitesimal fraction of a league of land and ruminate on her patriotic output of butter for the English markets.

Here in California, the commercial life was not only on quadrupeds, but so was the transportation, the unit being a horse, traveling twenty miles or so per day. And it was with this unit, in duplicate and fastened to a family carriage bound from Oakland to southern California, that Chicago-born David Barrows opened his recollections, or, as he called it, “California in Retrospect.” He is now seventy-seven. Though a list of his occupations, since becoming city superintendent of schools in Manila in 1900, includes governmental responsibilities in the field of education for the Philippine Islands until 1909, it was the North American west coast that held the center of interest in his address. In 1910 began Mr. Barrows’ connection with the University of California, to be followed the next year by his appointment to the professorship of political science; dean of the faculties in 1913; and president of the university 1919-1923. But before this last office began, he had seen military duty first with the cavalry during World War I and, after its close, with the national guard, as commanding general, 40th division, California national guard, 1926-1937. When, near the close of his address, former cavalry-officer Barrows returned, symmetrically and eloquently, to the subject of horses, the audience had the conviction that an artist as well as an administrator was speaking to them.

[A transcript of General Barrows’ address is planned for publication in the next issue of the *QUARTERLY*.]

Date: September 30, 1950

Speaker: ROBERT G. CLELAND

Before introducing the speaker of the day at the luncheon meeting in the Athenaeum, at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Dr. Rodman Paul explained why the exhibit, “A Century of California Literature,” had been assembled. The idea originated, Dr. Paul said, with the Historical Society of Southern California and was carried out as part of a state literary centennial, directed by Prof. Gustave Arlt of the University of California at Los Angeles. The originals of the items comprising the exhibit continued to be on display at the Huntington Library for several months, while photostatic copies of about half were shown at public libraries throughout the state in connection with local collections. At the Huntington Library the items on display numbered 115, representing the work of twenty-six authors now deceased. Turning to the speaker-of-the-day, Dr. Paul commented upon the number of students whose interest in the history of the southwest had been stimulated by association with Dr. Cleland, and referred to the grants that had been obtained, through his influence, from the Rockefeller Foundation in support of this subject at the Huntington Library.

Of the so-called “approaches” to history, Dr. Robert Glass Cleland mentioned two: the remark of a young lady who disclaimed interest in history

because she believed in "letting by-gones be by-gones"; and Wingfield-Stratford's statement that, "A knowledge of history can make the whole landscape alive . . . it can give a voice to the downs and clothe the waste with memories."

Dr. Cleland then quoted the prophet Ezekiel (some 200 B.C.) where in Chapter 37 he describes his experiences when "the hand of the Lord" was upon him. In a vision he saw a valley which was full of bones, "and lo," said Ezekiel, "they were very dry." But it was possible to lay sinews upon the bones and bring up flesh and cover them with skin. Then occurred "a shaking" and the bones came together. But there was no breath in them, until the Lord sent the four winds to breathe upon them. Thereupon the slain "stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army." To Dr. Cleland, the bare facts, such as dangling, non-sequent dates, are the dry bones of history; while the imagination of the historian, coupled with infinite industry in assembling the sinews, flesh, and skin (or, being interpreted, the official documents, diaries, and letters of the time), is what gives life to the bones, even if they are "very dry." But there must be a "shaking" of the bones before they can "come together"; in other words, a great sifting of the materials in the documents, letters, etc., must take place before a page of history can be evolved. The speaker used other examples to illustrate his meaning: the reconstruction, *in the imagination*, of Meriwether Lewis's return to camp in 1806, after his party had penetrated, overland, to the mouth of the Columbia River; and San Gabriel Mission which stood out as a symbol of faith and sacrifice on the part of an outpost of a once-great empire, now left in the trail of time.

Date: October 12, 1950

Speaker: REV. JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN

The date of the meeting, Father McGloin said, was indeed the 458th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America, but it was also the 100th anniversary of the coming of another Columbus, namely, the packet ship *Columbus*, which on that day (October 12, 1850) brought the Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., newly appointed bishop of Monterey, into the harbor of New York, on his way from Rome to his See in California. Still another Columbus, the SS. *Columbus* on the Panama run, brought the new bishop into the harbor of San Francisco December sixth of the same year, on the last lap of this hemispheric journey. So, on three counts, America's oldest hero played an indirect part in a nineteenth-century Catholic hero's discovery of western America.

Archbishop Alemany was born in 1814 at Vich near Barcelona, Spain. As a young Dominican friar he came to the United States in the second half of the 1840's, on his first tour of duty as missionary in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee. When back again in Rome on business for his order, he was chosen by Pius IX to be the first bishop of Monterey, and only three years

later was elevated to be archbishop of San Francisco, Tadeo Amat succeeding him in the Monterey bishopric. The archbishop's new honors arrived at the time when the U. S. Land Commission was handing down its decisions on the Church's claims to mission property, when the number of communicants was increasing, and when, with this increase, the necessity was becoming critical for establishing technical services—nursing and teaching—which could minister to the needs of the diocese. In spite of the skill with which, for over thirty years, Alemany met all his responsibilities, he referred to himself merely as the "Little Bishop." The appointment of Patrick William Riordan as his coadjutor, with the right of succession, strengthened, Father McGloin said, the archbishop's arms and permitted him to carry out his wish to resign. He returned to Spain and died there in 1888. Behind him he left a reputation for greatness of soul, manifested in countless ways. To mention one, his eloquence in the pulpit, H. H. Bancroft includes Archbishop Alemany with W. Ingraham Kip, William A. Scott, T. Starr King, Horatio Stebbins, and Andrew L. Stone, as "scholarly, and zealous preachers who have left their impress upon the thought of the community (*History of California*, VII, 730).

In Memoriam

FREDERICK LOCKWOOD LIPMAN

This well-known banker died on May 11, 1950, at the age of eighty-four, thus terminating a banking career of sixty-seven years. He was a native of San Francisco and was educated in its public schools. In 1883 he entered the service of "Wells, Fargo & Co's Bank" as an assistant note clerk. He became successively assistant cashier, cashier, vice-president, president and chairman of the board of this institution and of the succeeding banks, created by consolidation first with the Nevada National Bank and then the Union Trust Company.

He retired from the chairmanship of the board in January 1949 but retained his directorship. He had many personal interests and was a self-taught student throughout his life. He found relaxation in golf and music.

He was always interested in the history of his city and state and was largely instrumental in the creation and enlargement of the now celebrated "Wells Fargo History Room" that the bank maintains.

He joined this Society in 1923 shortly after its re-establishment and was always ready to assist in its projects.

Surviving Mr. Lipman are his widow, Edith Law Lipman, a daughter, Mrs. George K. Jensen, and two sons, Robert L. Lipman, an attorney, and E. C. Lipman, president of the Emporium-Capwell Company.

ANSON S. BLAKE

MISS ANNIE M. ALEXANDER

Students who have roamed through the museums of vertebrate zoology, paleontology, and botany at the University of California will be familiar with the name of Miss Alexander, for it was through her generosity that the first two were endowed and that they and the herbarium have been, in large part, supplied with specimens.

Miss Alexander was a native of Honolulu and, at the time of her death on September 10, 1950, had already reached her eighty-second year. She seems to have recognized the arrival of age in paleontological specimens but not in herself, for in the winter of 1947-48, accompanied by Miss Annetta Carter and Miss Louise Kellogg, she went by station-wagon to the southern extremity of Lower California, looking for specimens. (See Annetta Carter, "Three Women Without Fear," *California Monthly*, June 1949, pp. 30 ff.) That she would find them in plenty when she went maying, seemed to have been a foregone conclusion, for her contributions to the herbarium are said to have run into thousands. She was extremely modest. Of all these "thousands," she has permitted her name to be given to only one, a grass, *Ectosperma Alexandri*, found by her in Nevada.

It is never safe to say where the impetus comes from that prompts us to point our lives in certain directions; but the familiarity Miss Alexander had, in her early years, with flowers in Hawaii, where her father, the late Samuel T. Alexander, as well as her brother, the late Wallace M. Alexander, were sugar planters and shippers, must, at least, have provided her with a favorable botanic springboard.

Miss Alexander is survived by a sister, Mrs. John Waterhouse of Honolulu; two nieces, Mrs. J. B. Hurd of Piedmont and Mrs. Frank Gerbode of San Francisco; also three nephews, John T., Richard Starr, and Alexander Cooke Waterhouse. She had been a member of this Society since 1924.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

FRANK J. SOLINSKY, JR.

As a sign of respect to Mr. Solinsky's memory, the California Forest Protective Association (W. R. Schofield, secretary) passed a resolution on October 20, 1950, from which the editors have been permitted to draw for the following paragraph.

Frank J. Solinsky, Jr., a native of San Andreas, California, became affiliated with the California Forest Protective Association in 1916, acting as representative of the interests of Charles Ruggles. World War I intervened. Upon his return from service with the armed forces, he resumed participation in the Association's work as Ruggles's representative, and continued to support it when the Calaveras Land and Timber Corp. absorbed the former's interests. Up to the time of his death on September 2, 1950, at Mokelumne

Hill, California, Mr. Solinsky served on the Association's board of directors, where his experience and knowledge of timber and its problems were recognized by his associates and were reflected in the prestige which the Association enjoys.

Mr. Solinsky is survived by his wife, Jeannette; two brothers, Elbert C. and Edward R. Solinsky; five children, Mrs. Orison Zumwait, Mrs. John Ransome, Mrs. Walter Hanson, Frank J. Solinsky III, and E. Dean Solinsky; and thirteen grandchildren. He joined this Society in 1945 as an active member, raising his status in January of the following year to sustaining.

New Members

(September-November 1950)

NAME	Active ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. Elma P. Atchison	Folsom	Ralph H. Cross
Horace E. Aubertine	San Francisco	Loren B. Taber, D.D.S.
Mrs. Gates Baldwin	San Marino	Aubrey Drury
John R. Beckett	San Francisco	David Smith
Miss Florence D. Boyle	Oroville	Ralph H. Cross
Mrs. Quenton Brewer	Auburn	Ralph H. Cross
Kenneth M. Brown	Palo Alto	Andrew L. Johnston
C. A. Buckley, Jr.	Pebble Beach	Aubrey Drury
Ralph F. Burnham	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Bruce E. Clark	San Francisco	Mrs. Evelyn Curro
Warren W. Davison	Livermore	Thomas W. Norris
Solomon Dublin	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Glenn S. Dumke	Los Angeles	Andrew F. Rolle
B. A. Forsterer	Oakland	Membership Committee
Alexander R. Heron	Berkeley	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Stephen Herrick	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Gaskell S. Jacobs	San Francisco	Reuben L. Underhill
Gilbert H. Kneiss	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Leo V. Korbel	Petaluma	Aubrey Drury
Miss Ivy M. Loeber	St. Helena	Ralph H. Cross
Mrs. Angie T. Merrill	Woodfords	Ralph H. Cross
Charles Frederick Molle	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Ruth Ann Newport	Sonora	Ralph H. Cross
Thomas Newton Phillips	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Porterville Public Library	Porterville	Membership Committee
Miss Lynne Proctor	San Francisco	Mrs. Evelyn Curro
Mrs. Bertha M. Rice	San Jose	Membership Committee
Miss Lillian Phipps Roark	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Mrs. Albert H. Rowe	Piedmont	Mrs. William Cavalier
Mrs. Edna D. Sampson	Grass Valley	Ralph H. Cross
Victor W. Seastrom	Oakland	Membership Committee
Mrs. Frank Rice Short	Atherton	Membership Committee

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Alexander Rosborough	Yreka	Ralph H. Cross
Shreve & Co.	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. H. A. Spoehr	Palo Alto	Miss Mary Yost
Marshall Stimson	Los Angeles	Aubrey Drury
Miss Doris Marion Wright	Berkeley	Mrs. Arthur John Bancroft

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Mrs. Myrtle M. McKittrick was born in Idaho and attended the Boise preparatory schools. Then came study at Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, followed, after graduation, by teaching and newspaper reporting. She is now registrar of the Humboldt State College in Arcata. Her investigation of the Vallejo family papers has covered many years and has resulted already in the publication of *M. G. Vallejo, Son of California* (Portland, Ore., 1944).

John A. Washington, a native of West Virginia, is a graduate of Harvard University, having received his preparatory education at the Hotchkiss School. Membership in historical societies in his native state and in Virginia, together with his own talent for research, has enabled him to give Noblet Herbert's letter a detailed genealogical setting. Mr. Washington is assistant-manager of San Ysidro Ranch in Santa Barbara.

For an account of W. W. Winn's ancestry and engineering career, see this *QUARTERLY*, XXVIII (March 1949), 93-94. He is a grandson of A. M. Winn, one of the principals in his article. From January 1944 to April 1946, Mr. Winn was historian of the California Society of the S.A.R.

Much time spent in the manuscript collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, Ohio, has made it possible for William Zornow to unearth California items whose importance will be recognized by readers of the *QUARTERLY* in his present article on Jephtha Wade, and, we hope, in future studies. Mr. Zornow is a graduate of Western Reserve University, and is at present completing requirements for the Ph.D. while instructing in history and government at Washburn Municipal University, Topeka, Kansas. Articles by him on political questions of the 1860's have appeared in the *Lincoln Herald*, *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, *Indiana Magazine of History*, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, etc. His "Some New Light on Frémont's Nomination at Cleveland in 1864" was published in the *Lincoln Herald* of October 1949; and "Ohio Democrats and

the 'Africanization' Issue of 1862," in the *Negro History Bulletin*, June 1948.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Kenneth Marsh Brown is the son of Thomas Marsh Brown and his wife Barbara Abigail d'Arcy Brown. The elder Brown was born in Lewes, Sussex, of naturalized American parents traveling in England, and was brought to San Francisco from New York in November 1855 on the SS. *Golden Age*; his wife arrived in 1868. Mrs. Olive Dudley Brown (wife of the Society's new member) is the daughter of Ezra C. and Sarah Elizabeth Burnett Dudley. Dudley was born in the home of his maternal grandfather, Mark Stewart, whose house in Sacramento is now the property of the Native Sons of the Golden West. Dudley's wife was born in Provo, Utah, in a covered wagon en route to California, where her father, Thomas Tiffin Burnett, became associated with Andrew S. Hallidie in his cable-car enterprises in San Francisco. In Mr. Brown's possession is a journal kept by his wife's father, Ezra C. Dudley; also valuable excerpts from contemporary newspapers and other items relating to his and his wife's forebears, particularly to Mark Stewart and to the Englishman Charles P. Sheffield, Mr. Brown's step-grandfather. Sheffield was engaged in the early lumber business in Sierra County; later he ranched in Honey Lake Valley (now in Lassen County) and then came to San Francisco where he, with James Patterson and N. W. Spaulding, founded the Pacific Saw-Manufacturing Co.

The Society's honor-student from Stanford University, Harry W. Dahlberg, whose name was listed in the September *QUARTERLY*, graduated from Stanford in June 1950 with an A.B. degree (major in history) and membership in Phi Beta Kappa. He is a native of Butte, Montana, where the state's past, as taught in the fifth grade, had played up Indian battles, "bad men," and vigilantes, a not unfamiliar program elsewhere. In the high school Dame Clio's brow took on a weightier cast, and under Stanford professors she buckled down to the job of disciplining (the muses are conscientious) young Dahlberg for a career in history. He is now attending Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

Warren W. Davison, a descendant of Warren Davison, '49er of Colusa and Marysville, was born in Sacramento and graduated in pharmacy from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Los Angeles. He is the inventor of "No Doz," a nationally distributed product designed to keep sleepy drivers awake.

Glenn S. Dumke, a native of Green Bay, Wisconsin, is professor of history at Occidental College where he was granted his A.B. and M.A. degrees (Ph.D., U.C.L.A., 1942). He will be recognized as the author of articles on California history and of the following books: *The Boom of the Eighties in*

Southern California and Mexican Gold Trail (both Huntington Library publications, 1944 and 1945); also, in collaboration with Osgood Hardy, *A History of the Pacific Area*, published in 1949 by Houghton Mifflin.

The Society is glad to welcome, as one of its members, an enthusiast of Pacific-area history from the Islands. Gaskell S. Jacobs (U.C., 1913) supported the work of the Historical Society of Hawaii for a number of years, while in the employ of the Hawaiian Electric Co., Honolulu. He has now retired from the company (vice-president and treasurer), and has returned to California.

Gilbert H. Kneiss, now assistant to the president (public relations) of the Western Pacific R.R. Co., has been working on the history of the railroads in this area for many years. Two books of special interest in this field are his *The Virginia and Truckee Railway* (Boston: Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, 1938), and his *Bonanza Railroads* (Stanford, 1941).

Mrs. Bertha M. [Warren L.] Rice, born in New Hampton, Iowa, in 1872, has been a resident of the Santa Clara Valley since 1894. She has done newspaper work in San Jose and in San Francisco, and can recall with vividness her experiences in carrying out reportorial assignments with musicians, writers, social workers, etc. She has devoted much time to the work of the local historical society of San Jose (now the San Jose Historical Commission) to whose store of "reminiscences" she makes contributions of her own. Her efforts for the welfare of children and the preservation of the state's natural beauties, especially wild flowers, have been highly praised.

The mother (Katherine Hayes Roark) of Miss Lillian Phipps Roark was a native of Ireland (b. 1866); her father (Thomas Phipps Roark) a native of Louisville, Ky. Miss Roark, born in California, has been doing research work in the state's first official language with particular emphasis on the Spanish interpretation of "community property" ("bienes gananciales"). This has led, Miss Roark says, to a search for the biographies of some of the most noted Spanish commentators on the laws of Spain. She could find none in America, but in Paris she came across three volumes on the lives of the most famous of these commentators which she has now translated into English (*Biographies of Noted Spanish Commentators*, San Francisco, 1939). The original volumes have been added to the Robbins Collection in the California State Library at Sacramento.

Mrs. H. A. (Florence Mann) Spoehr, daughter of Henry N. Mann and Louise Scheffer Mann, was born in Chicago, attended Smith College (A.B., with Phi Beta Kappa, 1906), and did some work at the University of Arizona, Tucson. More recently she taught a course in English at Stanford

University. Her activities have included membership on boards of school and similar organizations, including the Girl Scouts.

Doris Marion Wright, a native Californian, is a graduate of Pomona College, with an M.A. degree in history from Claremont Colleges where she is now a candidate for the Ph.D. She has been a member of the staff of the Huntington Library, has taught at Scripps College, and is now at work at the Bancroft Library on a series of guides to the manuscript collection. Miss Wright's "The Making of Cosmopolitan California; An Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870," appeared in this *QUARTERLY*, December 1940, pp. 323-43; and March 1941, pp. 65-79. It has proved to be a valuable basis for subsequent analyses of the state's population, e.g., Marion Clawson's "What It Means To Be A Californian," this *QUARTERLY*, June 1945, pp. 139-61.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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